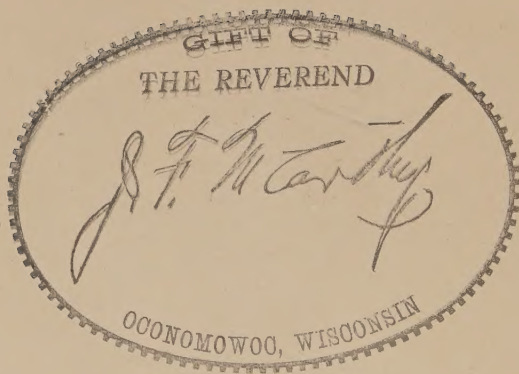
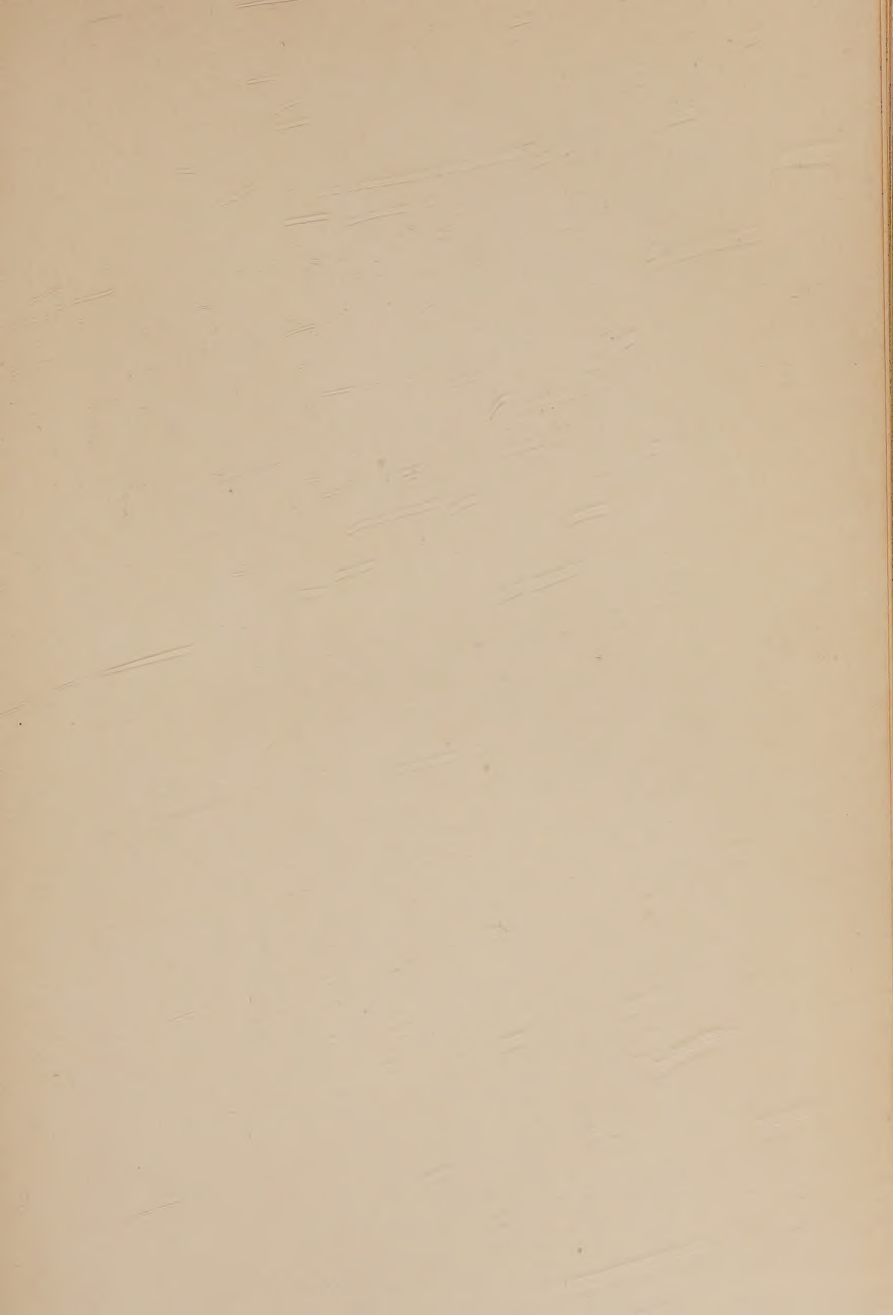






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Heroes of the Nations

EDITED BY

H. W. C. Davis

FACTA DUCIS VIVENT, OPEROSAEQUE
GLORIA RERUM—OVID, IN LIVIAM, 255.
THE HERO'S DEEDS AND HARD-WON
FAME SHALL LIVE

ROGER OF SICILY



ROGER II'S CAPPELA PALATINA IN THE ROYAL PALACE, PALERMO

PHOTO BY BROGI

ROGER OF SICILY

AND THE NORMANS IN LOWER ITALY

1016-1154

BY

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PREFACE

THE deeds of the Normans in Southern Italy and the founding of the Kingdom of Sicily—one of the most interesting and distinctive of mediæval states—have been strikingly neglected by historical writers both of our own and to a less degree of foreign countries. Had Edward Freeman lived, he might have given us that story, but of his researches into the more modern history of Sicily the historian of the Normans in England has only left to us a few striking essays and a brilliant article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In effect, a few pages in Gibbon's great work represent the only connected narrative that we have in English of one of the most romantic periods in mediæval history. That so little has been written in our language on this subject is my justification for undertaking to write the life of Roger II. This monarch, with his Norman predecessors, has indeed received a worthier attention at the hands of foreign scholars. A series of fatalities has cut short the fine work of Delarc, *Les Normands en Italie*, and of Heinemann, *Geschichte der Normannen in Unter-Italien*, as

of Freeman, but Amari has given the history of the Normans in Sicily in full in *Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia*, and the work of these has been carried on by Caspar, Kehr, Chalandon, and other French, German, and Italian scholars, who have worked in the broad field afforded by the subject. In particular I must express my obligation to Chalandon, the latest and on the political side the most thorough of the historians of Norman Italy, upon whose *Domination normande en Italie*, I have based the chronology of my book.

The absence of any standard English book on the Normans and Roger II. has compelled me to use my own discretion on some controversial points in regard to the spelling in names of persons and institutions. Thus, in regard to the personal name Guarinus, I have adopted the form Guarin, though the modern French form Guérin or the Anglo-Norman Warin might have been used, and though his contemporaries in Italy may have known this individual as Guarino.

Throughout the course of my reading I have received much help and encouragement, which, I gratefully acknowledge, from, among others, Mr. E. Barker of St. John's College, Oxford, Mr. G. Baskerville of Keble College, and the Editor of this series.

In giving this book to the public, I make little pretence to have added to the solution of the many, involved, and little-attempted problems connected with Norman and Hauteville government in Italy.

I can only claim for it that it represents many years' study of the original sources for the period, together with works of recent authorities, and that it gives for the first time in English in any continuous and detailed form the fascinating story, in Apulia and Sicily, of Norman valour, Norman enterprise, and Norman statesmanship.

E. C.

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ROGER OF SICILY

ROGER OF SICILY

INTRODUCTION

SOUTHERN ITALY *CIRCA* 1000 A.D.

“**A** LAND destined to receive from the South its civilisation, from the North its masters.” So has the history of Italy from Honorius been summed up in a single phrase.¹ From 400 A.D. to 1050 A.D., three Northern races descended without thought of return into the sunny land of corn, olive, and vine. After the East Goths, the Lombards, and after these the Normans, who, coming in isolated bands and not as a nation, yet represent the last considerable immigration of Teutonic invaders.

Italy, south of a line drawn from the Tronto to Rieti, and from that again to Terracina, was the arena of Norman conquest; the genius of Robert Guiscard, of Richard of Aversa, and after them of

¹ Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie meridionale*, i., p. 15. See *Ibid.*, p. 11 *seq.* for a detailed sketch of the topography of Lower Italy.

Roger of Sicily, formed this part of Italy into a political entity which, lasting for 800 years, has been variously called "the kingdom of Sicily," "the two Sicilies," or more familiarly the "Regno" or "Kingdom." Geography at once favours and hinders the unity of Lower Italy. The vast mountain-barrier of the Abruzzi, the "Gran Sasso" of Italy, continued by the mountains that approach to Benevento, cut it off from the central and northern part of the peninsula. Yet Nature has deeply divided its component parts. Great mountain ranges sever from one another the fertile plain that is watered by the Volturno and Garigliano, the plateaux of Apulia, the great depressed lowlands stretching from Otranto round the Gulf of Taranto to the basin of the Crati, and make each of them self-contained and isolated. The whole of the Abruzzi was in the mediæval ages almost inaccessible, with vast forests, mountains, and waste, offering little passage or attraction. Apulia, divided from Calabria by woods, torrents, and narrow gorges, communicating with it only by Potenza, or the long shore-route, shut off from the western plains by the great backbone of the Apennines, and only to be entered from that direction by Troja, Melfi, and the passes under Monte Vulture, presents in itself much diversity of soil and altitude. From the Apennines down to Andria is a great grassy extent covered with sheep. A low-lying tract stretching along the coast from Siponto to Brindisi, fertile and full of towns,

ascends into a tableland which stretches from Monte Gargano, "the spur of Italy," to the foot of Monte Vulture, and the whole is called "fat" or "fertile" Apulia. Thence begins the Murgia, a line of hills styled in contrast "stony Apulia." Over the Apennines, from Salerno north to Benevento and the borders of the former Papal states, there are great and fertile plains called to the north Campania, but even here considerable mountains rise like spurs of the great central ranges, and from Salerno to Sorrento runs a great wall of hills south of which Amalfi sits on the sea.

Geography makes the history of Lower Italy in the early mediæval centuries. Calabria, poor and isolated, a "citadel of granite," offering little in the way of harbours or towns, necessarily plays little part in the story of Norman conquest. The northern Abruzzi serve to check Norman aggression and to fix its limits. The mountains and sea enable Naples and Amalfi to play for a long period the part of free Sea-Republics. The Greeks are able to keep a long hold on the plains and towns of the Adriatic side. The Lombard states are more easily conquered by the invaders, but when the Norman feudatories plant themselves in the numberless valleys of western Apulia and the lower Abruzzi they are hard to force either into unity or loyalty to the Duke or King who strives to make of South Italy a nation. The wars of Guiscard and Roger against their Norman vassals are not a chronicle of open battles,

but of continual sieges of mountain fortresses and petty isolated towns.

At the beginning of the eleventh century, just on the eve of the Norman conquest, the future Kingdom presents a very diversified map. There are three great Lombard duchies, Benevento, Capua, Salerno, while a fourth, Spoleto, touches it in its southern half. The two coasts and nearer inland are studded with cities, Capua, Benevento, Naples, Salerno, Gaëta, Amalfi, Brindisi, Bari, and so on. A line drawn from the north of Monte Gargano across to the neighbourhood of Potenza, and again to the northern limit of Calabria, contains between it and the southern and eastern sea a Greek "Theme" or province, called variously the Capitanata, or Langobardia. Sicily is in Moslem hands.

The native forces in Lower Italy were the Lombard duchies and the princely City-Republics. The former had for two centuries followed an almost unbroken course of disintegration. At the end of the eighth century one great duchy had contained what were now three or more separate states. The glory of the duchy of Benevento had been in the period when the northern Lombard kingdom, founded by Alboin in 568, with its capital at Pavia, fell before Pippin and his son Charles the Great; Lombard independence and civilisation then found a refuge in the South with Arichis II., Duke of Benevento.

The ancestors of Arichis had governed in Bene-

vento since 591; he himself was a man of great character, his territory was of wide extent, and the overthrow of the northern kingdom served to enhance his fame. Benevento was no mean successor to Pavia. Built where the Sabato and Calore unite, seated at the junction of the Via Appia and the Via Trajana, it was the gateway between Southern and Central Italy. The Arch of Trajan, the *Porta Aurea*, which had escaped ruin, was the natural boast of its citizens. Santa Sofia, built by Gisulf II., 732-749, harboured a famous school of philosophy; strong walls and a Lombard castle crowning the hill on which the city is built, secured its defences.

Arichis was able to stave off Charles with a tribute; he took the title of Prince in 774, was crowned and anointed by the bishops of his duchy, struck coins bearing his own effigy, and, as a final mark of independence, dated his acts by the year of his reign. Capua and Salerno were also his capitals; he fortified the latter and built in it a palace of great size and beauty to rival the *Sacrum Palatium* at Benevento. All South Italy was his except the Greek sea towns and the duchy stretched from sea to sea.

Among those who sought an asylum with the great Duke, appeared Paul the Deacon, a Lombard patriot and the greatest man of letters among all his race. After the overthrow of King Desiderius at Pavia he came south to Benevento to adorn the court of Arichis, and after his patron's

death he went north to join the literary circle which surrounded Charlemagne at Aachen; finally he sought refuge in Monte Cassino, and there set himself to write the epic of his race, the "History of the Lombards."

Arichis left his throne to a son, Grimoald. But the glory of Benevento was short-lived. On the death of Duke Sicard in 839, the duchy was usurped by Radelchis, one of his officers; Salerno thereupon broke away under Siconulf, who called himself "most glorious prince of the Lombard race" (849). Shortly afterwards, Capua formed a third state, and thus there arose out of the original duchy three Lombard dynasties. In Benevento and Capua, there followed one another a bewildering succession of Pandulfs and Landulfs, in Salerno of Gaimars and Gisulfs. Alongside the greater three, small Lombard dynasts, offshoots of the princely families, eventually established themselves in Teano, Sorrento, and elsewhere. To the north, again, was the duchy of Spoleto, governed since 575 by Lombard princes who in 842 founded an hereditary dynasty; this race however had become extinct when the Normans appeared in Italy, and the invaders were able to add to their conquests the southern portion, the Abruzzi.

The boundaries of Benevento, Capua, and Salerno at the beginning of the eleventh century were as follows: the former stretched, on the west, from Alife to Avellino, and touched Capua near Sant' Agata and on the Volturno. On the north

it extended from Alife by Boviano and Molise to Trivento, thence to the coast at Termoli. Its south-eastern border ran from the mouth of the Fortore by Lucera, Ascoli, and Melfi, where it met Greek territory, to Nusco and Avellino, where it faced the duchy of Salerno. The latter had, by agreement with Benevento in 847, received territories stretching as far south as Taranto and north to Teano, but it had sadly diminished. It now met the Greek frontier along a line from Melfi, Potenza, and Policastro. Again, it touched Beneventan soil at Nusco and Avellino, and Neapolitan along the Sarno. The frontier of Capua on the south towards Naples reached from the Lago di Patria along the river Clanus to Abella; on the east, it ran from about Abella to Sant' Agata along the upper Volturno to Sora from which, turning south-west to Aquino, it followed the course of the Garigliano to the sea. The boundaries of the Salerno and Benevento naturally fluctuated, thus the territory of Monte Gargano from Lesina and Lucera to Viesti and Siponto was debated between Benevento and the Byzantines.¹

The Lombard race was undoubtedly the eminent factor in Lower Italy. Three great principalities represented their temporal sovereignty; in Monte

¹ *Vide Schipa, Il ducato di Napoli*, p. 410, for an excellent map by B. Capasso to illustrate the boundaries of Capua, Naples, Amalfi, etc. Also Schipa, *Il principato di Salerno. Arch. st. nap.*, t. xii., 1887, p. 106.

Cassino and in Monte Gargano, they held the spiritual capitals of the southern half of the peninsula, the one the mother of Western monasteries, the other a shrine for pilgrims from all the West. Salerno again was a city celebrated beyond the borders of the Lombard race; it is described as rich with the traffic of Moslem Africa and Sicily; its trade with Constantinople was great; above all it was famous for its ancient School of Medicine.

The Lombards were both an aristocratic caste and a race of merchants and cultivators. As the former, they had stamped themselves all over Italy; from north to south the personal names of the whole noble class were Lombard. Their distinctiveness as a Teutonic nation had indeed vanished, and their origin revealed itself, apart from historic tradition, only in their names, in their law, certain terms in that law, the titles of some officials, and a few place names. They had become at once Catholic and Italian. But the word Lombard survived stubbornly attached to a people whose blood must have been largely mixed. The three duchies were of course the main seat of the Lombard race, but it was also numerous along the western coast, while the occupation of Apulia by Zoto and Arichis II. had left behind a numerous race of peasants and townsmen who preserved the Italian speech and the laws of Rothari all along the hinterland of the Adriatic and even in the cities of the coast.

Not only the race, but also the laws and admin-

istrative system of the Lombards were far diffused beyond the borders of the three duchies. Apulia was under Byzantine domination, but in all essentials it closely resembled the neighbouring states. Benevento, Capua, and Salerno were divided for administrative and judicial purposes into areas governed by counts and "gastalds," agents of the ducal power. Similarly in the nearer parts of Apulia, Lombard gastalds are called in by Greek officials to decide cases. The charters and acts of Bari, Bitonto, and other towns of the Adriatic coast, from the early part of the tenth century, attest how lightly Byzantine institutions affected the population. The names are mainly Lombard, the practices referred to are those of Lombard law, *secundum ritus gentis nostræ langobardorum*, the language in the vast majority of cases is Latin, while however the acts are dated by the reign of the Greek Emperor.¹

Even among the purely Italian people of Italy, the laws of Rothari and Liutprand contested the ground very vigorously with the Roman or Roman-Byzantine codes. In Rome itself, the very seat of the more refined legal system, the nobles and many of the clergy are found in the eleventh century living by the old barbarian customs.²

¹ See *Codice diplomatico barese*, in 5 vols. (Bari), for numerous instances. In the deeds of S. Nicholas of Bari (vol. iv.), of dates from 939-1071, all are in Latin; two however have a Greek translation where the Catapan has approved them.

² See Giesebrecht, *Die deutsche Kaiserzeit*, vol. ii., p. 328.

Far into the thirteenth century, these customs retained the affections both of the people of the old duchies and the burgesses of the Apulian towns, and the once Teutonic race continued to cling to customs bearing old Germanic names such as the *morgengab* or settlement on the newly married wife of part of the husband's effects, the subjection of the women to the *mundwald* or guardian, the *launegilt*, or acknowledgment in kind made for some grant or gift. The Lombard law even had its attraction for those free cities Amalfi, Gaëta, and Trajetto which broadly speaking were Greek-Italian and non-Lombard. The *Consuetudines* or Customs of Amalfi, which were collected in 1274 but existed three centuries earlier, show that the basis of dowry and succession among the Amalfitans is Lombard and not Roman law; the *morgengab* is at home there as in Bari or Benevento.¹

The second of the great native forces of Lower Italy was in the non-Lombard civic states, in Naples, Amalfi, Gaëta, and a few lesser towns of the western coast which were their satellites. Of these, the greatest was Naples.

The Basileus Constantine IV. may be said to have founded the Neapolitan duchy in 661; he defined its territories within a line reaching from above Gaëta in the north to Amalfi in the south. As Naples itself gradually formed a nucleus of self-government out of the wrecks of Greek dominion,

¹ Racioppi, G., *Arch. st. nap.*, 1880, pp. 1-20.

so other units of independence formed themselves out of Naples. In the ninth century Amalfi emerges as a free state. At the same time with Amalfi, the remoter Gaëta (Cajetta or Caieta) begins to run a course of her own. The *contado* of Naples was therefore much reduced by the dawn of the eleventh century; the duchy had then for its borders the sea, Nola, the Capuan territory along the Volturno, and the course of the Sarno.¹

The immediate ruler of Naples held two titles, Duke and *Magister Militum*. The latter implies a military jurisdiction; the Duke was commander of a militia or military caste which had its own domains and privileges in and about the city. As a civil official he governed Naples in the name of the Emperor at Constantinople; in this capacity he was assisted by a council of *nobiliores*, while *comites* and *tribuni* acted as magistrates under him.

The Greek character of Naples took long to disappear. Until 1139 the overlord of the city was the "Great Emperor" in whose name all acts were ratified. Political and commercial intercourse with Constantinople strengthened the traditional ties, and the Greek tongue was for long as common in the streets as the Italian. Practically, however, Naples grew into a free republic at once maritime, civic, and aristocratic. Her dukes became hereditary, although they

¹ Schipa, *Il ducato di Napoli*. *Arch. st. nap.*, 1893, p. 598.

never ceased to be in a large measure constitutional princes. The earlier rulers of the city were nominated by the Exarch of Ravenna, who represented Byzantine authority in Italy; their names are Greek such as Stephanus, Johannes and Sergius. Finally Sergius I., in the middle of the ninth century, was the last to be nominated from Ravenna or Constantinople; from him there descended a line of hereditary dukes which ran to the seventh of the founder's name, and ended three centuries after him.

Ruling a wide *contado* in the islands and mainland, commanding the sea-routes, an outpost of Greek learning and cultivation in the West, Naples was a city at once splendid, vigorous, and wealthy. Yet she was followed close by the more recent Amalfi, which with Naples, with Gaëta, with Terracina formed a chain of cities at once Italian, self-governing, and attached to Byzantium by unofficial bonds. Amalfi too had her *contado* and now tended to gather under her sceptre a little empire of the sea-towns and now saw them follow her own lesson in self-dependence. We can trace from the middle of the ninth century a native dynasty establishing itself in Amalfi with Marinus I., which becomes finally hereditary at the end of the tenth century. At first they call themselves "imperial prefects"; from 958 they too become dukes and so last until 1073. Gaëta again began to have consuls of her own as early as 823, and in 872 a certain Docibilis is found as



THE CATHEDRAL OF AMALFI (10TH CENTURY)

PHOTO BY ALINARI

Duke of Gaëta, Fondi, Trajetto, and Terracina. He was succeeded in this compact little state by dukes more or less hereditary and bearing such Greek or non-Lombard names as Sergius, Leo, Marinus. Terracina and Fondi again tended to break away from Gaëta, and the "particularism" of Lower Italy was irrepressible until the Normans welded it together by the strong hand.

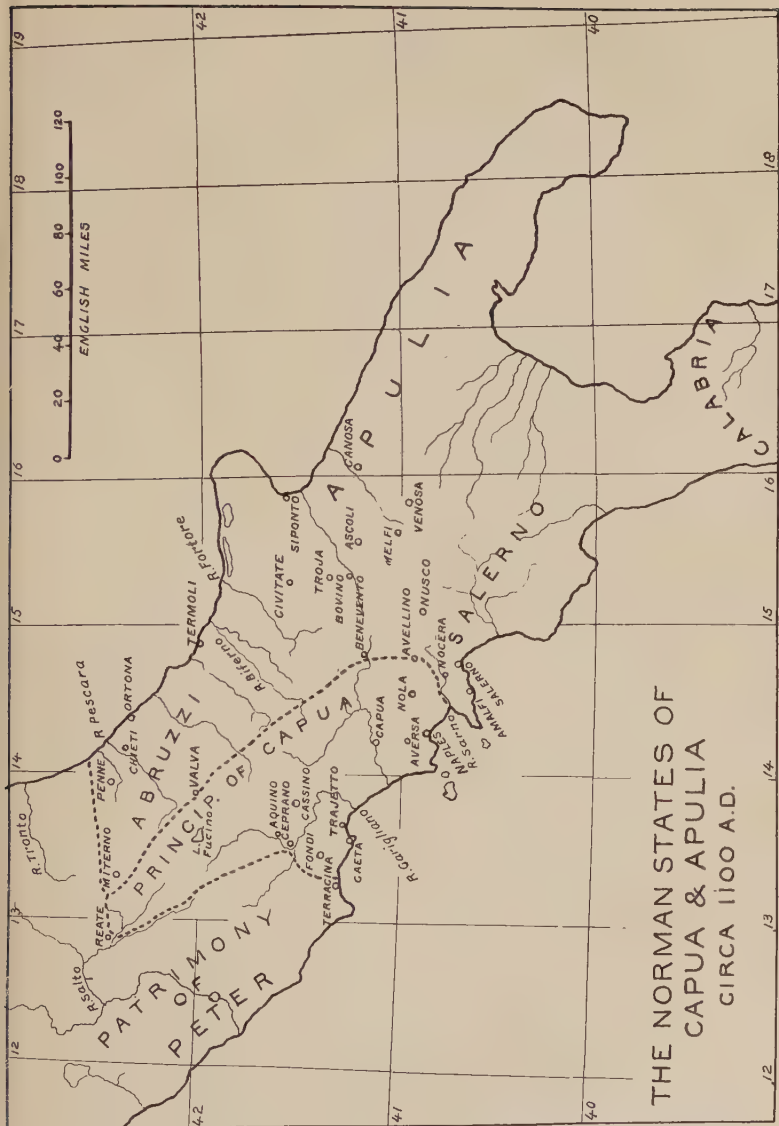
The glory of Amalfi was in the tenth and eleventh centuries. A poet of the latter century describes it as wealthy and populous, full of gold and silver, a famous port of Arab, Sicilian, and African merchants, an emporium for the goods of Egypt and Syria.¹ Built on the lower slopes of a high and inaccessible mountain group, it fronted only the sea which gave it its importance; the hill country behind isolated it from the Campanian plain. Its fleet and marine were at the beginning of the eleventh century the most numerous and active of all the lower western coast. Its traders and seamen made its name renowned; they secured from their nominal lord, the Basileus, valuable trading immunities in Constantinople; the Lombard Liutprand, visiting the Greek capital in the interests of his master Otto I. in 968, found Amalfitans as numerous and as much in evidence there as the Venetians.

Such were the city-states of Lower Italy which we might distinguish sharply from the inland Lombard states did not the Lombard law exercise

¹ Guill. Ap., iii., p. 267; Muratori, *R. I.*, SS., vol. v.

no small influence upon the native customs of Amalfi and even of Naples, did they not also aim at dominion in the hinterland itself. Nor can we call them Greek in any definite sense inasmuch as their populations were mainly of Italian stock, of Italian speech, and living by Roman law.

Lombards and Italians were not the only races in South Italy which might be called native. Sicily of course contained a preponderating Moslem population, with an understratum of Greeks surviving in the eastern part of the island. On the mainland four centuries of Byzantine ascendancy had left a large Greek-speaking population. In Apulia, indeed, Hellenisation had not proceeded far; the Lombards, backed by the free states, preserved their race and speech; veterans of the imperial troops were seldom pensioned off upon the land; in the towns such as Bari, and in the towns alone, does there seem to have been any considerable Greek element. But round the Gulf of Taranto, and in the toe of Italy, Greek influences were all-powerful. The whole of Calabria, the southern part of Lucania, the coast from Brindisi to Taranto and Otranto, the valleys of Agri and Sinno contained a population completely Greek. The reigns of the Iconoclastic Emperors 775-867 had resulted in great numbers of nonconforming monks abandoning Greece and settling in Greek Italy, where the Greek language, law, and Church struck their roots deeply. In these districts Greek was the language of administration,



and the Code of Justinian was the law of the land. The Byzantine law lived on to influence the edicts of the Norman kings; the Greek speech lived on till the scholars of the Renaissance procured native scholars of Calabria to teach them the language of Plato.

South Italy then contained, from the Garigliano and Tronto to Brindisi and Syracuse, four races, four systems of law, three Churches, numerous free states, and sovereignties both civic and national in character. If unity could be imposed upon this meeting-ground of races, churches, and civilisations, it was less likely to be achieved by native force than by the action of the external powers which pressed their title to the sub-peninsula. For Lower Italy was not only a confusion of races internally, it was an arena in which clashed against one another the three great powers that contested the Mediterranean. The Moslems, the Byzantines, the German successors of Charlemagne in the Holy Roman Empire met in conflict on the battleground of Southern Italy.

To the princes and people of Italy it was not apparent that the Moslem danger was almost past. All North Africa was Moslem, and Sicily was a stepping-stone to Calabria and Apulia. In the ninth century the Aglabite rulers of Tunis and Kairouan had wrenched Sardinia, Corsica, and most of Sicily from the Greeks. About the year 846 their fleets had appeared at the Tiber mouth and sent inland troops who plundered Rome;

about the same time Bari, Taranto, Salerno, one after another, were threatened or taken. South Italy for a time was in considerable danger of becoming Semitic, and even if the danger seemed to pass, Islam had a unique power of revival. To the Aglabites succeeded the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt, whose ships and armies in 965 drove the Greeks out of Rametta, their last stronghold in Sicily. Their lieutenant Abul-Kasem seemed at one time likely to add Apulia and Calabria to his Sicilian emirate; at Cotrone in Calabria he overwhelmed the German Emperor, Otto II., with the whole of his forces, but died in the fight with all his ambitions (982). The next century saw the Moslems without an inch of ground on the mainland, and even in Sicily the strong hand was relaxed. The emirs of the island, like the newly-sprung Zirid dynasty of Tunis on the coast opposite, renounced the overlordship of the Fatimites; the Moslems of Sicily devoted themselves to a peaceful trade with the Italian sea-towns on the one hand and Africa and Egypt on the other; their island became a paradise of wealth and culture, and its capital, Palermo, a second Cordova.

The claim of the Western or Holy Roman Empire to Lower Italy had a more legal aspect. In the theory of the *Imperium* Italy was as necessary a part of the Emperor's dominion as Germany. Yet even the dominion of Charles the Great in Italy had actually only reached to a line drawn eastward from Gaëta to the south-

ern boundary of the lordship of Chieti. His indefinite claim to the portion south of that received from Arichis of Benevento only the acknowledgment of a tribute which left the Duke a sovereign prince. His successors both of the Frankish and the Saxon House made several appearances in the south; practically however, the imperial power below the Garigliano was a mere supremacy only occasionally enforced. Again their claims were contested by their own protégé, the Papacy. In 774, Charles the Great conferred upon Pope Hadrian the Duchy of Rome. This grant of the Patrimony of Peter was held on the Papal side to have included Spoleto and Benevento; the claim was never allowed, but an impression was created that the Pope was the real viceroy of Italy. Behind it all there was the all-accredited Donation of Constantine to fall back on; had not that left all Italy to the Pope? But whatever Pope, Greek, or other opponent might affirm, the imperial claim to Southern Italy was never more than in abeyance, and till the Norman kingdom itself passed away the transalpine Emperors continued haughtily to denounce as interlopers all who claimed any dominion in the southern fringe of the Empire.

The Byzantines were no less tenacious in asserting a legal sovereignty over the much-debated land. If their realm was, as it claimed to be, the real heir to the Empire of the Cæsars, if the Emperor of the West was in truth merely a "bar-

barian King" of Franks or Saxons, there was no doubt in law that the Basileus of Constantinople was lord of Southern Italy. Fact and not theory, however, was to decide the question, and the actual authority of the Greeks in that country at the end of the tenth century was both strong and widely diffused.

The recovery of Italy to the Empire under Justinian had been partially undone by the Lombard incursion of 568. In the south, Greek dominion was narrowed by various dukes of Benevento to the mere peninsula of Otranto. Later, Sicily had to be yielded to the Moslems (827-878). Yet the reaction came. The commanders of Basil the Macedonian (867-886) and Leo the Wise (886-912) recovered Apulia and Calabria both from the Saracens and the Lombards and laid down a frontier which only the Normans were able to cross. Greek authority in the south was now represented by the Catapan or viceroy, ruling over the Theme of Langobardia, a name which in itself testifies to the wide diffusion of the Lombards over Lower Italy. After the expulsion of the Saracens, Basil I. had made Bari the capital of his viceroy in the south, whom we hear of for the first time in 975 as the Catapan, a title probably implying "he who is above all others."¹

¹ *i.e.*, κατ' ἐπάνω. For a discussion on the meaning of the word see Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, p. 342. The Theme of Langobardia was formed under Leo the Wise, the Empire itself having been divided into the provinces called Themes in the reign of Constantine IV., 641-668.

He was the supreme civil and military official, head under the Basileus of all Byzantine administration, and commanding the garrison troops, the local militias, and such reinforcements as were sent at need. Now that Sicily was lost, a concentration of the remaining dominions took place; but the Catapan's command, covering provinces so diverse, was perforce accommodated to the prevailing differences. The boundaries of the Theme to north and west were drawn from the flat coast-land about the Fortore through the mountains. The western half of the Theme, Calabria, was in two portions: viz., the Basilicata, or Lucania, from Monte Vulture and the neighbourhood of Troja, Melfi, and Potenza to Policastro and the valley of the Crati; and Calabria proper, south and west of it. The "toe and instep of Italy" were Greek; a "citadel of granite," Calabria was preserved by its mountains from the rest of the Theme. The other half of the Catapan's province, Apulia, offered every contrast, even if only because of its wealth.

In its widest application Apulia reached from the Fortore in the north to the mouth of the Bradano and the peninsula of Otranto in the south. Practically it is seen to fall into three portions, the peninsula of Otranto, flat, fertile, and chalky, the Capitanata, as its name generally reads, a plain lying between Bari, the Murgia, and Monte Gargano, and Apulia itself, lying between the two great roads of the south-east and fronting the Adriatic.

Byzantine administration in Lower Italy accommodated itself to local circumstances. In the purely Greek areas, such as Calabria and Otranto, the officials who carried out the orders of the Catapan were mainly Byzantine and non-native; they were both nominated and controlled by the imperial deputies. But in Apulia proper the Greek authorities had a more difficult problem to face. Here the subject population was of Italo-Lombard stock, attached to an old Teutonic code, and retaining an administrative system similar to that of the neighbouring duchies. It was also of vital importance in the problem that Apulia was essentially a land of "communes." The peasants were mainly to be found, as they are to-day, in towns of greater or less extent, from which they went out at sunrise to their fields, and to which at sunset they returned. Town life, from the smallest *oppidum* to the capital of Apulia itself, was characteristic of the Adriatic coast and the interior country. From Bari and Trani inland to Melfi and Canosa, Apulia was studded with considerable towns, and each showed the prevailing impulse towards self-government. The Byzantines, then, had as a political necessity to recognise this development. The local officials, the *turmarchs*,¹ and the local judges, though often nominated and always ratified by the im-

¹ The Greek Theme was again subdivided into provinces governed by *turmarchs* who were both military commanders and civil officials responsible to the Catapan.

perial power, have to govern by means of and with the consent of local notables who, under the names of *boni homines* or *καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι*, act as representative town-councils. These civic notables themselves are found adorned with such names as *protospatharii* or *candidati*, purely unofficial titles flowing from the fountain of honour at Constantinople.

The secret of Greek rule in Apulia seems to have been the simple one of showering honours and petty offices on the civic notabilities and, leaving them undisturbed in enjoyment of the same so long as they carried on the local government in the name of the Basileus and paid him his due tributes. Nor was any systematic attempt made to resist Lombard influences, which were naturally strongest in the greater towns. Thus even in Bari the magistrates are found at the end of the tenth century to be Lombard, and so are the petty local governments farther inland. In the zone between the land of Otranto and the free duchies Lombard *gastalds* and Greek officials exist side by side.¹ Where the inhabitants are Lombard and live by Lombard law they are able to call in a *gastald* of their own race to settle a dispute, even a *gastald* whose sovereign is the Prince of Salerno or the Duke of Benevento. How little oppressive the Greek rule was, and how skilfully the Catapans yielded to the difficult

¹ The Lombard duchies were subdivided into areas governed by officials called *gastalds*.

conditions of their Apulian command, is strikingly illustrated by a document of the date 1043 relating to Bari. The Catapan Eustathius wishing to reward the fidelity of the *Judex* Bisantius of that city to the Emperor during the rebellion of Maniaces and afterwards against the "Franks" (the Normans), concedes to him the administration of the village of Foliano (or Foliniano) and its surrounding district; he is permitted to plant strangers there as colonists, and may collect tribute from them, himself and his heirs, without any interference from the imperial authority. Finally the Catapan concedes to him that his new subjects should be governed by him according to Lombard law, except, however, in case of assassination of the Sacred Emperors or the Catapan himself; such a case could only be judged by an imperial official and by imperial law.¹

This was certainly an unusual immunity, but it remains true of Apulia as a whole that in its cities the Lombard subjects lived according to their own laws without molestation; *boni homines* representative of the community aided the *turmarchs* and other officials to administer justice, to ratify sales, grants, and all other acts, public and private; the officials themselves were local and but lightly controlled from outside or from above; the Catapan as long as his master the Emperor drew from Apulia the customs, rents,

¹ *Cod. diplom. bar.*, vol. iv.; *Pergamene di S. Nicolà di Bari*, no. 32, p. 67.

tributes, and other emoluments of his sovereignty was content with a much lighter hold than the centralising and highly-organised government of Constantinople exercised elsewhere in Italy and the Empire.

Many circumstances seemed to favour a long continuance of Byzantine power in Lower Italy. The commercial influences binding the province to the Empire were all-compelling. The "Orientation" of the southern peninsula was then and for two centuries yet a decisive fact; the face of the Apulian coast-land was turned eastward, and the towns from Siponto round to Taranto had more to do with the eastern Adriatic than with the western parts of Italy from which the great central mountains divided them. Bari was important as being the great depot for the silks, precious stuffs, and other articles of luxury which were to be got only from Greece; Brindisi again, standing on the junction of the two Roman roads the Via Trajana and Via Appia, was in easy touch with Durazzo. From Durazzo again the Via Egnatia ran overland through Thessalonica to Constantinople.

Severed by the great mountains from the towns of Apulia, Naples, Amalfi, Salerno, and the western towns yet had the sea open; they traded and corresponded with the great capital of the Eastern world, by the Straits of Messina and the Ægean Sea. The coinage of the Greeks itself testified to the commercial primacy of Constantinople.

The golden *taris* or *tarenes* of Amalfi and Naples and the silver coins of the Lombards were of less credit than the Byzantine *solidus* of gold, the *besant* which for centuries remained the one international money of the Levant.

To this influence the Byzantines could add the wide-spread Hellenisation of South Italy in race, law, culture, and religion. At least half the Theme of Italy was Greek in race; in Calabria and Otranto there was no need for Byzantine officials to use aught but Greek in official documents and the work of government. Indirectly the same language and culture were of much importance in the life of Naples and Amalfi. The Roman Church kept but a loose hold on the sub-peninsula. In the Lombard duchies and in the west, Latin bishops were maintained under the influence of the dukes and of Rome, and in Apulia it seems that the Greeks had to recognise the Latin hierarchy appointed by the Roman pontiff. But overlying these, and in the rest of the Theme undisturbed, Greek bishops, priests, and monks in numbers held the land to the allegiance of Constantinople. From the end of the ninth century the Patriarchs of the Eastern Church released from dependence upon Rome the churches of Sicily, Abruzzi, Apulia, and Calabria. In 1025 the Archbishop of Bari is a Greek of the name of Bisantius; in his time, however, and by him the archiepiscopal see was subjected to Rome and the Latin Church.¹

¹For these facts see *Cod. diplom. bar.*, vol. i., p. xiii.

The military power of the Eastern Empire was behind the Hellenistic influences that operated in Lower Italy. From 959 to 1025 the throne of the Basileus was held by the vigorous race of the Macedonians and several great Emperors restored the frontiers of the Danube and Syria. Nicephorus Phocas could take to the capture of Crete in 960 a fleet of 3600 vessels and a landing force of 50,000 men. The Byzantine army was the one force in Europe that was thoroughly equipped and scientifically trained; the one army whose officers marched to war with text-books on the military art in their wallets,¹ which on the march was followed by a train of engineers and an ambulance corps, which was drilled into an elaborate and strikingly modern system of formation and attack. In physique and animal courage the Greeks were certainly inferior to the barbarian Slavs, Russians, and Moslems whom they had to face, but the confidence born of good armour, careful drill, and scientific leadership, and the possession in the Greek fire of something corresponding to modern artillery, gave them a pertinacity and morale which over and over again was able to wear down mere brute valour. The discipline and science of the Byzantine armies compel not only respect but admiration; they had

¹ These manuals of warfare against Franks, Lombards, and Arabs which officers were obliged to master were the *Strategicon* of the Emperor Maurice (written *circa* 570-80), and the *Tactica* of Leo the Wise, 900 A.D.

recently (972) at Presthlava and Dorystolon won the greatest battles of the age, saved the Empire, and shown what disciplined courage could do against 60,000 invading Russians, formidable and natural fighters, whom they drove over the Danube with two thirds of their number dead or taken. Such an army as Zimisces had then led, in whole or part, might at any moment be landed on the Apulian shore.

Uncertain as the destiny of Lower Italy seemed at the opening of the eleventh century, yet two developments seemed to promise a greater stability and a greater freedom of external forces than had so far been effected. These were a continuous struggle among the Lombard states which seemed likely to end in the supremacy of one or the other, and the communal movement aiming everywhere at full civic freedom.

The Lombard duchies seemed to be aiming at unity and concentration again after two hundred years of disintegration. If unity in Lower Italy was to come from the principalities of Benevento, Capua, and Salerno, it would be possible only by internal concentration, by the dominance of one of the three, and finally by the acquisition of military resources such as the dukes had not yet found, lacking as they were in marine power and in native armies. After-history shows that in their own race the warlike vigour had sunk very low and that the mercenary bands such as the ambitious princes sought in the inter-ducal struggle could

only have been provided by such a race as the Normans; their experience of the latter, when from hired swordsmen they became their masters, was nothing new in the story of nations.

The power of the Lombard princes seemed to be on the increase now after two centuries of confusion. It was much that hereditary succession more or less complete was secured. It was in their favour that feudalism so far had not established itself. The reins of central government showed signs of being tightened; the *gastalds* who governed definite districts called from their office, the *sculdais* again below them, come to be subordinated from the ninth century to new officials, counts (or *comites*), whose titles, though they sometimes became hereditary, were always a gift from the prince. Large revenues were derived from the ducal domains, from the regalia, and from other sources, such as tributes from the subjects, called *angariæ*. Compulsory military service provided the prince with a militia of townsmen. Every token of sovereignty surrounded the ruler of Benevento, Capua, or Salerno: the coinage that bore his effigy; the assumption of sceptre and crown; the issue of sovereign acts in his name. The centralised administration of the Basileus, the pomp and ceremony of his court, were the models for these small Lombard potentates, whose *taris*, rude imitations of the imperial *besants*, show the Duke of Benevento or Salerno clad in alb and dalmatic, carrying the globe and cross,

and on his head the *narthex*, with its hanging chains.¹

It was from the Lombard princes that the unity of Southern Italy from within seemed once or twice likely to be achieved. The contest of the two Empires for the debatable land gave the more skilful among them a chance to realise that possibility, and unity and independence might be snatched out of the struggle, by the aid of one or the other. Generally speaking the Lombard princes were pro-Byzantine, but an alliance with the Western Empire seemed to the greatest man among them in the tenth century more promising. It was Pandulf Iron-Head of Capua who came nearest founding a hegemony over the Lombard and city-states of Lower Italy, before the coming of the Normans.

The short but brilliant career of this man lasted from 966 to 981. From 966 to 969 the great Emperor Otto I. was in Italy bent on expelling the Greeks from the south; he fixed upon Pandulf, the first of his name in Capua, as the one strong man capable of holding the country as a fief of the Holy Roman Empire, and invested him (Christmas, 966) not only in Capua, but in Spoleto and the March of Camerino. The Empires made peace in 969, but this was only the beginning of Iron-Head's career. Landulf of Benevento dying, he forced his own son into the duchy, he became

¹ Engel et Serrure, *Traité de numismatique du moyen âge*, vol. ii., p. 292.

lord of Gaëta, he brought Gisulf I. of Salerno into a humiliating vassalage, and from his death in 977 governed the principality in his stead. Thus he died master of the four Lombard duchies and after achieving a hegemony over South Italy which later Pandulfs and Gaimars strove less successfully to gain. But everything went with him, and Gaëta, Salerno, and Benevento regained their former independence.

Accompanying the tendencies of ducal sovereignty in South Italy was the communal impulse. The whole land of Italy before another century was finished was trembling with the universal instinct of civic liberty. The south was awake earlier than the north. By the beginning of the eleventh century Gaëta, Naples, Salerno, Amalfi had all their "customs" and embryo municipal governments of *electi* and *jurati* chosen from among the civic notables. In the Apulian towns the *protospatharii* grant land, etc., for the *communitas*, which divides itself commonly into three classes.¹ The ducal territories were no less stirred with the democratic ideal; in 1015 Benevento itself became the seat of a commune.

What if the two forces of Lombard sovereignty and civic freedom should unite and at once reject the imperial claims of Constantinople and Aachen?

¹ In 992 Conversano, for instance, is divided into *maiores mediani et cunctus populus*. Thirty-nine individuals who include a *turmarch* and *protospatharius* among them act for the whole community. *Chartularium Cupersanense*, ed. Morea, vol. i., p. 60.

Such a union might effect that national independence which Lower Italy was groping towards. At least the subject towns of Apulia looked to an alliance with the Lombard dukes for the ousting of the Byzantines. Already in 929 there had been an Apulian revolt which was not suppressed for five years; Capua and Salerno had joined in against the Greeks, and for a while brought Lucania and the upper portions of Apulia and Calabria under Lombard sovereignty.

Once again such a combination, but of a lasting effect, took shape. In 1009 Bari revolted against the Greeks; Melus, a member of the civic aristocracy, appeared as the leader of the rising. All Apulia followed; a succession of bad harvests, of Moslem pirate-raids on the coast, had exasperated beyond endurance a people already murmuring under the tributes, the customs dues, the rents, the burdens of military and naval service which Greek rule imposed upon the towns. It was a revolt led by the petty noblesse and official classes of the Apulian towns, who aimed at the complete overthrow of the Greek authority whose demands, in themselves not excessive, were hateful as being imposed by a foreign power. That they were conscious of its being a war of Lombard against Greek it would be going far to affirm, but the junction of the rebels with the Lombard dynasts soon gave it a racial complexion, and both felt for the Greeks some of that contempt which every healthy Westerner very unjustly entertained.

Again, the communal spirit by its very nature aimed at nothing less than the goal of complete self-dependence; Bari aspired to the full liberties of Amalfi. Such a jealous temper did not need severe or long-continued Greek oppression to arouse it; any little friction would set it ablaze and Bari would be joined by all the resentful patriots of Apulia. The revolt once in full swing, it was joined by Lombard dukes for their own advantage and kept alive by Norman swordsmen to whom peace meant all their occupation gone. Too late then the Apulian towns realised how reasonable Greek rule had been; they remained till Roger II.'s triumph oscillating between that Byzantine overlordship which they nominally admitted when it was possible, and absolute self-government, but they remained firm in their objection to Norman domination.



SEALS OF BISANTIUS, ARCHBISHOP
OF BARI 1025 A.D.

CHAPTER I

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

WHEN Melus lit the fire of revolt in Bari, he could count upon the Lombard dynasts to back up his cause. Gaimar IV. of Salerno and the Pandulfs of Benevento and Capua believed that the hour was come for the expulsion of the Greeks; they entered into terms with the armed levies of the Apulian towns, and communicated with the rebels by the defiles between Benevento and Ascoli. The revolt, however, had at first little to show; the Catapan Basil recovered Bari in 1010, and Melus was driven into exile, first to the Lombard princes, then to the court of Henry II. whom he begged to intervene. Again returning in 1015 to his native country, he made the pilgrimage to Monte Gargano, and there at the end of the year he had that interview with a band of Norman pilgrims which was to bear such astonishing fruit.

One of the most eventful meetings in history had

a befitting background. The shrine of St. Michael on the great mountain promontory of Monte Gargano, "the spur of Italy," was one of the most famous objects of pilgrimage in the West. A bishop to whom the Archangel had appeared in visions founded there in 493 a church from which the cult of St. Michael spread over Western Europe. Of its daughters the most famous was the chapel on Mont St. Michel on the Norman coast, raised by Bishop Aubert of Avranches in 710 A.D. When the Normans became masters of the northern province of France and ceased to be pagans, the cult of St. Michael whose shrine on the island citadel was in their hands came to have the deepest appeal for them; restless fighters as they were and the most militant of Christians, they showed an especial affection for him who had led the legions of God in battle against the powers of Darkness.

Among the numerous pilgrims who trod the way to the little town of San Angelo on Monte Gargano, often on their way to, or on their return from, the holier places of Palestine, came many Normans to climb the steep way over the mountain, to descend into the dark grotto behind the church, and to view with a naïve piety the altar and statue of the Archangel and the rusty spur which had fallen from him when he appeared in majesty to the bishop of five centuries ago.¹

¹ For a description of Monte Gargano see Gregorovius, *Wanderjahre in Italien*, vol. v., p. 95 seq.

Some such Normans, forty in number, probably adventurers of knightly blood seeking their fortune in troubled fields, were returning from worshipping at the altar of the Archangel towards the end of the year 1015 when there entered into talk with them the fugitive Melus, dressed in flowing robes and with some sort of Greek turban upon his head, a costume which seemed to them foreign and unmanly.¹ The Lombard soon revealed his true character and his object, and besought their help in his cause, begging them to beat up recruits in their own country for the service of the Apulian insurgents. They carried the message to Normandy and in a few months the first bands of Norman adventurers began to cross the Alps, and come down by Rome to Capua and Benevento. Their leaders, who had perhaps met Melus at Monte Gargano, were Gilbert Buatère, Rainulf, Asclettin, and Ralph of Toeni, petty knights of the duchy, among whom Gilbert had incurred the duke's wrath for an act of homicide, and was glad to seek a land where the strong hand of power was little to be feared.

The newcomers, whose advent was followed for fifty years by fresh swarms from the inexhaustible race, brought with them nothing beside the horses which they bestrode like born riders, the lance and

¹ Guill. Ap., *op. cit.*, bk. i., line 27:

“More virum græco vestitum nomine Melum
Exulis ignotam vestem capitique ligato
Insolitos mythræ mirantur adesse rotatus.”



THE SHRINE OF ST. MICHAEL ON MONTE GARGANO

PHOTO BY MOSCIONE

sword which they handled so skilfully, the kite-shaped shield, the conical helmet, the mail-shirt of woven rings or threaded plates reaching from the ears to the knee, which protected them in the shock of battle. Over and above that, they had the vigour of a race which was young and unspoiled; they combined the hardiness of their near Danish forebears with the suppleness and address of the Romance blood that was also in them; they were tireless in seeking adventure; the most invincible and audacious of fighters; possessed of the greatest craft in diplomacy; and both in affairs and in war showing the greatest coolness, skill, and tenacity in attaining their ends. The historian Malaterra in drawing a picture of the Hautevilles who arrived later hits off the whole Norman race in words often quoted: a most astute race, vengeful of injuries, ready to forsake their own country for the sake of profit in other fields; greedy of dominion; with a genius for imitation; keeping a mean between generosity and miserliness; knowing how to flatter, exceedingly eloquent; a race which unless it is put under the yoke of law is most ungovernable; when glory and gain call them, most patient of toil, cold, and want.¹ Such was the race which in two generations had eaten up both the Lombard dukes and the Lombard rebels to whom they now came as penniless swordsmen.

They were greeted with delight by both: the Lombard rebels, holding together in little armies

¹ Bk. i., chap. iii.; Muratori, *R. I. SS.*, vol. v., p. 550.

recruited from the foot-levies of the towns, saw in them an accession of formidable cavalry which would stiffen the insurgent ranks; the Lombard princes found at last in them the gallant mercenaries without whose aid their efforts and their gold were powerless against the Greeks, or in the struggle to weld South Italy into one. The representatives of the princely races, in their person or near posterity doomed to overthrow and dispossession, were now Pandulf III. in Benevento, Sergius IV. in Naples, Gaimar IV. in Salerno, and in Capua the young Pandulf, the third of his name there. The latter is the most remarkable of the four; a collateral of the race of Pandulf Iron-Head, he resembles the latter in his unscrupulous vigour; violent and brutal beyond all the dynasts of his time, he earns from the chronicler of Monte Cassino the vigorous epithet, "the Wolf of the Abruzzi."

Reinforced by Norman valour, Melus was able in 1017 to take the field, and before the year was over to secure all Apulia from the Fortore to Trani. But in October, 1018, the Catapan Bojoannes brought an army against the Lombard-Norman forces at Cannæ as they camped on the right bank of the Ofanto; the Normans had in three battles seen the backs of the Greeks, but now Byzantine science and the steadiness of the Russian vikings of the Varanger troops were too much for them; the insurgent army was wiped out, and of 250 Normans only ten escaped.

The revolt for the time was over. Melus fled to die in Germany in 1020. The Normans of Apulia changed masters, and were set by the Catalan to garrison Troia and other fortresses which he founded at that time to protect the frontier towards Benevento. The princes of Capua, Salerno, and Benevento were forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Basileus.

In the next twelve years Pandulf of Capua came near uniting South Italy under the overlordship of Constantinople. In 1022 Henry II. descended into the south, and exacted the submission of Naples, Salerno, and Capua, investing with the latter a certain Pandulf of Teano. But the "Wolf of the Abruzzi," backed by Gaimar IV. and the Normans, promptly expelled his rival. In 1027 he drove out Sergius of Naples and occupied his city, while Salerno, under the infant Gaimar V., who had now succeeded his father, was practically in vassalage to him. In 1029, however, Sergius IV. was able to re-enter Naples.

His restoration was largely due to Rainulf, whose services he had bought with money, and the Norman was now bound still further to him by the gift in marriage of the Duke's own sister, a widow of a Duke of Gaëta, and a grant of land in the Terra di Lavoro. There in 1030 Sergius built for his condottiere the fortress of Aversa, which, richly dowered with land, he was to hold as a bulwark for Naples against attacks from Capua.

The founding of Aversa was an event of decisive importance. It marks the stage when the Normans cease to be mere hired swordsmen, serving this or that side without principle or ambition. At least one of their commanders had become a feudal lord holding a rich fief. Henceforth a dozen others follow his example; the new race takes a hold on Lower Italy which is never seriously shaken; from hired fighters they become "free companies" little distinguishable from banditti, their aim the deliberate and complete conquest of the land, not for Byzantine, German, or Lombard, but for themselves. The circumstances of Southern Italy were such as to give joy to every adventurous heart; the struggle *inter se* of the Lombard and city-states, the clash of the two Empires, the intermittent revolts of Apulia against the Greeks all made it certain that they would reap the profit, who combined valour with such craft and prudence. One of their most readable chroniclers sums up both their own determination that war should only cease when it suited them and the circumstances which favoured their amazing triumphs:

They preferred war to treaties of peace. All these princes have a great desire to dominate the rest, hence rise continual wars. The Normans understood that for their own interest they should not give one of these Lombard princes too decisive a victory, hence they fomented discord. Thanks to the discords of Italy the Gauls who for a moment had lost all hope began

again to recover courage, and re-establish again little by little their forces and their fortunes.¹

From Aversa Rainulf sent out letters into Normandy summoning the adventurous to come and share the fortunes of their compatriots in the great arena of Italy. The news came to a household of upper Normandy where lived under one roof a family of sons who were to outdistance all those who preceded them to Italy in fame and fortune and to reap most of the profits of conquest.

At Hauteville-la-Guichard, eight miles or so north-east of Coutances, the ruins of an ancient castle marked until recently what was once the home of Tancred, the father of the conquerors of Apulia, and the grandfather of Roger II. of Naples and Sicily. Tancred was a knight of small patrimony, possessing apparently a single manor. He was born in the latter half of the tenth century at a time when only two generations separated the Normans, now becoming Gallicised in blood, physique, and culture, from their Norse ancestors who, heathens and barbarians, had sailed with Rollo up the Seine and shared the duchy of Normandy with him. Many legends testify to the tremendous physical strength and personal address of the old Tancred, the worthy founder of a great race. Poor as he was in possessions, he imparted courage, strength, and high gifts to twelve sons who grew up round him and found the patrimony

¹ Guill. Ap., *op. cit.*, bk. i., l. 145.

too narrow for them. They were the product of two marriages: Muriella was the mother of William, Drogo, Humfrey, Geoffrey, and Serlo; a second wife, Fredesinda or Fressenda, bore him Robert afterwards called Guiscard, Mauger, another William, Alveredus or Auvray, Tancred, Humbert, and Roger.¹ Of the twelve, eight sought their fortunes in Italy. Five proved to be conquerors of the first rank.

The tidings from Aversa, of fame and fortune awaiting the brave, so tempting to young men of high spirit and of the poorest prospects, led the sons of Tancred to join in the great Norman enterprise. William and Drogo first found their way to the south and sold their swords to Pandulf of Capua.

The latter was still all-powerful in Lower Italy. He induced Rainulf to transfer his allegiance to him and place his fighting bands at his service. With these he took Gaëta (1032), expelling the ducal family; he got possession of Amalfi; and Sorrento, breaking away from Naples, attached itself to him. But Gaimar V., now come of age, showed himself an uncompromising foe of his uncle; he rose to the lead of a pro-German league as Pandulf led a Byzantine party. There followed a war in which the states of Southern Italy ranged themselves under either Capua or Salerno, the fighting line on each side being formed of Normans.

Again a Western Emperor descended into the

¹ Malaterra, *op. cit.*, chap. i.

turmoil. Conrad II., marching southward, seized Capua in May, 1038, and Pandulf sought an asylum in Constantinople. In his stead Conrad invested Gaimar with Salerno, Capua, and Gaëta. The Emperor then invested Rainulf with Aversa, but probably as a vassal of Salerno and not directly, of the Empire.¹ When Conrad retired north he left Gaimar the first man in South Italian politics; in 1040 he was lord of Capua, Gaëta, Amalfi, Aquino, and Trajetto, as well as Salerno, while he invested his brother Guy as Count of Sorrento.

Meanwhile, the Greeks were not idle. The court of Constantinople, where Zoë was the real power, and her husband Michael IV. nominal Emperor, had in George Maniaces a distinguished commander, and one famous for his skill and valour at the siege of Edessa. He was commissioned to restore Byzantine authority in Sicily, where a favourable opening for intervention presented itself. There was a standing quarrel between the Moslems long established in Sicily, and the newer arrivals from Africa, and the government itself was divided on the question. In 1035, Ahmed Al-Akhal, Emir of Sicily, leader of the "African" or "Berber" party, failing to suppress a revolution of the "Sicilians" under his brother Abu-Hafs, turned to Constantinople and

¹Schipa, *Il principato di Salerno*, *op. cit.*, p. 517. Delarc, *Les Normands en Italie*, p. 86, however, says that Conrad thus placed Rainulf among the feudatories of the Empire.

recognised the old supremacy of the Greeks, while his brother brought in an army of 6000 men under Abdallah, son of the Zirid Sultan of Tunis. The final result was that Abdallah dispossessed both Ahmed and Abu-Hafs and reigned in person in Palermo.

Maniaces, charged to reinstate the ally of Byzantium, mustered his forces in Apulia (1038); among the chosen troops were the Grand Droujina or Guard of Russo-Scandinavian Varangers. The latter were commanded by the famous viking Harold Hardrada, now a man of twenty-three, a wanderer since his brother King Olaf fell by his side at Stiklestad, and at present after many adventures earning the gold of the Greeks. Maniaces had also hired three hundred Normans from the Prince of Salerno; they were commanded by one Arduin; William and Drogo of Hauteville were prominent among his followers. The Norsemen and Russian vikings of the Varanger guard and the Normans of France thus met in a strange companionship; drawn from one common stock, a single century had parted them far from one another; in their methods of war, in their stature, speech, and temperament, the Norman horsemen showed little signs of kinship with the tall, fair, axe-wielding Varangers.

Two great battles marked Maniaces' campaign. Abdallah was twice overthrown, once at Rametta, once at Troina, his great hosts scattered by charges of the Greek troops in which William Tancredson gained his name of "Iron Arm" for his courage

and strength. But quarrels broke out between the commander and his troops; the Normans and Norsemen, dissatisfied over the question of pay and plunder, went back to Apulia, and Maniaces' recall left Sicily to the Moslems again.

Their acquaintance with the Greeks gave the Normans little respect for their soldierly qualities. William of Apulia describes Arduin as elaborating to the Normans at Aversa the story of his own wrongs and the effeminacy of the contemptible Byzantines. Why should so desirable land as Apulia be left to a race so feeble?—such was his argument, appealing at once to the Norman self-conceit and the Norman cupidity.¹

The flames of revolt were not yet quenched in the Greek province. Arduin and Rainulf put themselves into touch with the Lombard rebels, and undertook the expulsion of the Byzantines from Apulia, with an object which they did not reveal to the insurgents. In 1040 they seized Venosa and Melfi, building a strong fortress at the latter; and mustering there five hundred knights in all. The joint army of Lombards and Normans took the field in the spring of 1041; near where the stream of the Olivento joins the Ofanto they faced the army of the Catapan Doceanus and though he

¹ Guill. Ap., bk. i., p. 255.

“Appulæ multimodæ cum terra sit utilitatis
Fœmenēis græcis cur permittatur haberi?”

Arduin, who was a Lombard by nation, had apparently been whipped.

had the Varanger Guard with him he was overthrown. Again on May 4th, the armies met at Monte Maggiore on the Ofanto, and the Norman horse, swollen now to two thousand, rode down and broke the redoubtable Varangers. Maniaces was the only man who might have saved the Empire at home and abroad; he was sent (April, 1042) to check the Normans, but intolerable treatment from the court forced him into revolt; returning to the mainland, he commenced to march upon the capital but was murdered before an ambition which was not ignoble could rise to the imperial throne itself. With him died a great commander of the type of Zimisce and Phocas.

The hero days of the Basilian dynasty were over; from 1028 to 1057 favourites and puppets mismanaged the Empire; Zoë and Theodora, the last of the dynasty, were responsible for a succession of incompetent or powerless Emperors, their husbands; after them twenty-four years of the making and unmaking of Basileis with little claim or character ended at last in the accession of the Comneni in 1081. By that time internal ruin was far advanced; Italy and Asia Minor were lost to Norman and Turk, and none feared either the fleets or the armies of Byzantium. The triumph of the Normans in Apulia and Calabria was indeed due largely to their own skill and courage, but it was aided by the sudden and extraordinary decline of the Eastern Empire; a Zimisce or a Basil

Bulgaroctonus would scarcely have yielded the field so easily to a handful of adventurers.

Fresh from their triumphs the Norman conquerors met on the hill of Melfi (1042) to discuss with envoys of their paymaster Gaimar the division of the land which, from Monte Gargano to Monopoli, they claimed as theirs by the right of the sword. Twelve counts were chosen to govern them; the country was divided among the twelve: thus Rainulf received Monte Gargano; Drogo, Venosa; William, Ascoli; while the fortified hill of Melfi was chosen as the common capital of the Apulian Normans. The eldest son of Tancred was later (February, 1043) elected Count of Apulia, with power to make or propose new baronies as the land was further conquered. Upon Gaimar the Normans conferred the empty title of Duke of Apulia and Calabria; he was to give his name to the land grants of the new Count, and might exact military service; on his part he gave William his niece, daughter of the Count of Sorrento, in marriage, and the son of Tancred, like Rainulf, thus entered into a blood-bond with the ancient Lombard dynasts. At the end of 1045 William died. His brother Drogo claimed his place; Gaimar recognised him as Count and gave him also a daughter to wife.

The apparent power of Gaimar was now very great; from Gaëta to Taranto only Benevento and Naples owed no allegiance to him; he was suzerain of the two Norman chiefs of Aversa and Melfi.

But it was Norman swords and shields on which his power depended; the newcomers could overthrow him when they might think the time was come. And now his old rival Pandulf III. returned from Constantinople. The aged Capuan failed to recover his native dominion but was able to add to the general misery and confusion of the region of Capua and Monte Cassino.

In January, 1045, Rainulf of Aversa died. He was succeeded by his nephew Rainulf Trincanocte, who, after a temporary alliance with Capua, accepted investiture from the Prince of Salerno early in 1046. Gaimar's power had now reached its highest point.

There now arrived in Lower Italy (at the end of 1045 or early in 1046) the greatest of the sons of Tancred, Robert, whose character soon gained him the name Guiscard, "cunning" or "resourceful." Like his elder brothers he came unattended and with little but his horse and arms. But the character of the young adventurer promised him a great destiny; he possessed to the highest degree that valour tempered with prudence, that greed and ambition controlled by invincible patience and endurance, which were the true gifts of the Norman race. His physical strength and beauty were not inferior to his mental gifts; he is described by the Byzantine historian Anna Comnena as being tall and powerfully built, standing head and shoulders over his tallest comrades, his head covered with fair curls, his voice of such Homeric



THE HILL OF MELFI

(FROM HUILLARD BRIHOLLES, *Recherches sur les Monuments des Normands*)

strength that a whole army could hear it.¹ He was the Joseph of the sons of Tancred, destined to supplant his brothers and their progeny.

Drogo received his brother well and quartered him in a castle at San Marco in the valley of Crati, on a spur of the Calabrian Apennines, where he commanded a band of desperadoes and lived the "life of a horse-thief."² But he soon quitted the spot, and returned to join in the conquest of Apulia, in company with Girard, a Norman whose sister Alberada he had married. The conquest of that province was proceeding piece-meal; in May, 1046, Drogo overthrew the Catapan near Taranto; almost all from Monte Gargano to Brindisi was his. A third brother, Humfrey, was with him; the young Guiscard soon joined them.

Almost contemporary with Robert there began his career another of the Norman stock, who was destined to achieve a fame and dominion great if much inferior to Guiscard's; this was Richard, a son of Asclettin and nephew of Rainulf first Count of Aversa. The two were more often rivals than friends; the Hauteville dynasty which Robert founded, the ducal house of Capua which Richard established in a Norman line, were pitted against one another for close on a hundred years, till the nephew of Guiscard secured the mastery over Norman Italy for the house of Hauteville.

¹ Anna Comnena, vol. i., p. 49. *Corpus script. hist. Byz.*

² Malaterra, i., xvi.; Amatus, *Ystoire de li Normant*, iii., 7, ed. Delarc.

Richard's great moment came in 1050. In that year Rainulf died; Richard succeeded him as Count of Aversa under Gaimar's suzerainty, and fixed his ambition on becoming lord of Capua, as Robert fixed his on Apulia.

Meanwhile a third Emperor of the West had intervened. In February, 1047, Henry III. entered Capua; there he restored Pandulf to Capua and recognised Rainulf of Aversa and Drogo of Apulia as imperial vassals. The final source of authority in Western Europe thus legalised the hold of the adventurers on Southern Italy. Gaimar renounced his title of Duke of Apulia and Calabria; and Drogo, as if to show that now his title was thrice-valid, proclaimed himself "*dux et magister Italiæ comesque Normannorum totius Apuliæ et Calabriae.*" Before this his brothers and he were mere elected commanders of the Norman war-bands—*primi inter pares*,—but now by the imperial investiture the Count of Apulia acquired an actual sovereignty. Henry's action was disastrous to Southern Italy and to all imperial interests. By it he broke the last Lombard power which was capable of checking the Normans, and in legalising their position, he practically surrendered the south to them. But the policy of the Western Emperors in Lower Italy was not wont to be far-sighted or consistent; the immediate advantage, that the Greeks should be driven from Apulia, seemed sufficient.

In February, 1049, Pandulf of Capua died; the

"Wolf of the Abruzzi" was sixty-four years old; he was succeeded, after the short reign of his son, by Pandulf V.

All these years the Greek dominion in Apulia-Calabria, and the Lombard sovereignty in Capua, Benevento, and Salerno were being steadily sapped away. The Lombard dynasts, the native insurgents of Apulia, at length realised what their bringing in of the Normans was likely to cost them. Once again in history the deliverers proved more intolerable than the old masters. Town after town from the Crati to Monte Gargano was falling before the siege-craft of the Normans, which consisted in the simple and effective method of blockading the environs, and starving the people into submission. Thereupon, the place was secured by rampart and trench; a valley once occupied, a Norman castle rose on some impregnable spur of the Apennines; the countless mountain-glens of Lower Italy were being steadily occupied by Norman lords and their fighting bands.

The newcomers showed little mercy or respect for either churches or towns, clerics or laymen. In time then a universal hatred of the Normans, mixed with fear and dismay, possessed the whole of Southern Italy. One contemporary remarks that the liberators had become oppressors; they were hated as much as the Moslems; they spoiled God's Church, they put Christians to cruel deaths and spared neither women, nor the old, nor

infants. An abbot who wrote to the Pope complaining of being attacked by them on returning from a pilgrimage to Rome declared that the hatred of the Italians for the Normans had become so great that it was impossible for a Norman even if he were a pilgrim to travel through the towns of Italy without being attacked, cast into irons, or even done to death in prison. The general detestation of the Norman plunderers is expressed by high and low; a priest of Naples making a contract with the monks of San Sebastian in the year 1043 finds space to hurl his curse upon the Normans the usurpers of his glebe.¹ Equally with their misdeeds their military skill was known and dreaded: "courageous in war if tyrants without pity," "invincible by land and sea," such was their reputation.

The champion of the injured princes and people of the south was found in the Roman pontiff. The principles of Cluny had ascended the Papal throne with the great Bishop of Toul, Leo IX. his archdeacon, Hildebrand, was securing a revenue for St. Peter; at the Roman Curia great ideas were in all minds, of winning "unity and purity" for the Church, of making the Papal throne the great Court of Appeal for all wrongs, of pushing Papal supremacy and Roman observances

¹ For these instances see: the monk Wibert, *Vita Leonis IX.*, p. 158, vol. i., Watterich, *Pont. Rom. Vitæ*; John, Abbot of Fécamp, vol. 143, *Patrologia Latina* (Migne), p. 798; Capasso, *Monumenta*, ii., p. 292.



BRONZE DOORS OF THE CATHEDRAL OF BENEVENTO (12TH CENTURY)

over lands lately occupied by the Greeks, the Moslems, and the heathen races.

The resurgent Papacy soon came into conflict with that new factor in South Italian politics, the Norman conquerors. The clash came over a point of temporal supremacy. Leo in surrendering Papal rights over the bishopric of Bamberg had been granted by Henry III. in return the lordship of Benevento. The citizens of the latter were more attached to their recent Commune than to their ancient lords, who, in the persons of Pandulf III. (1011-1059) and his son Landulf VI., had played a most lethargic part in the conflicts of the time. Late in 1050, they expelled the two princes, perhaps aided by Richard of Aversa; the Norman probably hoped to secure the city for himself, but the citizens offered the lordship to the Pope. On the 5th July, 1051, Leo entered under escort of Drogo and Gaimar; he took possession of the ancient city, recognising the commune and installing a Rector to govern in his name. Henceforth he appears as champion of the Lombard dynasts and city-republics of the south, a part that the Emperor should have played, and which his successors were long reluctant to abandon.

The extent of the danger with which the Normans were threatened was shown when in August, 1051, Drogo was murdered as he went to church at Bovino. "The ever-perfidious Lombards of Apulia," says Malaterra, "had resolved to

destroy the Normans all in one day"; their daggers accounted for many, but Humfrey rallied his people, took Drogo's place and title, and exacted a savage revenge for the outbreak. Meanwhile a Greek Catapan, Argyrus, son of the old rebel Melus, recovered Bari; the Papacy, the Lombards of the old duchies and of Apulia, the Byzantines, entered into concert against the Normans.

Before the great attack came the last powerful Lombard dynast disappeared. Gaimar of Salerno was assassinated on June 3, 1052, as the result of a conspiracy of his own kinsmen with Amalfi; he died lamenting that with him passed like smoke and shadow the glory of his city.¹ His sons, among whom was his eldest Gisulf, fell into the hands of their kinsman Pandulf who proclaimed himself prince. But Guy of Sorrento rode away to Humfrey, and meeting him on the borders of Benevento reminded him that he was the treasure which the dead Gaimar had amassed; let him show to the world what the treasure was worth.² He returned escorted by both Humfrey and Richard, the gates of Salerno were opened to them by partisans, Pandulf was slain, and Gisulf set up, receiving the homage of the Normans. Amalfi, however, and Sorrento were recognised as independent of the principality.

In the spring of 1053, Leo IX. gathered together the army by which the Normans were to be ex-

¹ Amatus, iii. chaps. xxv, xxvi.

² *Ibid.*, chaps. xxvii, xxviii.

pelled from the south. The state of the Church in Lower Italy troubled the Pope no less than the political question; at a time when the Reforming principles were winning their way in France, Burgundy, and even Germany, simony, the sale of Church dignities, clerical marriage were abuses all-prevalent in Southern Italy, and in Apulia so near to the Holy See itself tithes were not paid to the churches. The Normans seemed the one obstacle to Church reform in the lower peninsula.

But to expel the Normans was obviously no light task. Leo naturally turned to the Emperor, to whose interest it was to prevent their becoming masters of Southern Italy. In the autumn and winter of 1052, the Pope was with Henry III. in Germany; he succeeded in his efforts so far that the Emperor undertook to send part of his army into Italy; more he could not do, for he was at war with the Hungarians and was hampered by other troubles in Germany. But the imperialist bishops, notably Gebhard of Eichstädt, resentful of Leo's interference in Germany and in the Hungarian dispute, were powerful enough to induce Henry to withdraw even this aid, which in itself might have altered the whole course of events.

Even in Italy the Pope could hope for no great success. Boniface, the great Marquis of Tuscany, was just dead (May, 1052); in the south, where Pandulf of Capua was dead, and Gisulf of Salerno scarcely yet assured of his dominion, no strong Lombard prince was to be found.

The forces which Leo was able to gather were composed of many elements, "all combined to efface even the name of the Franks." There was a force of Lombards drawn from Fermo, Spoleto, Teano, Aquino, and Benevento, and Leo was supported by some of the smaller dynasts, such as the Duke of Gaëta. A small body of Swabian infantry had been enlisted by the influence of Cardinal Frederick, brother of Duke Godfrey of Lorraine; it was commanded by Counts Werner and Adalbert and Leo's hopes not unreasonably rested upon these sturdy infantry. The Papal army marched out in May, 1053, from Monte Cassino and instead of plunging directly into Norman Apulia took its course by Benevento and the valley of the Biferno, in order to join the Catapan Argyrus at Siponto. The Normans threw themselves in the way of this possible junction. Independent companies as they were, they could yet act with cohesion in the face of a common danger; the Normans of Aversa and Apulia were united, their three thousand horse were led by the three great chiefs, Humfrey, Guiscard, and Richard. They met the Papal army near Civitate, on a plain washed by the Fortore. The utmost danger threatened them; they were between the Catapan and the Pope; Apulia was in revolt; they themselves were in such distress that they had to appease their hunger with the ripening corn. Now, indeed, the whole future of the Normans in Southern Italy seemed

to hang in the balance. They sent envoys through whom they offered to hold Apulia by yearly tribute from the Pope; Frederick of Lorraine gave them a contemptuous choice between death or flight. The Papalists, superior in numbers, were assured of victory; the Germans in particular, proud of their own tall stature and long locks, derided the Normans, who were smaller than their enemies.* Left with only one resource, the Norman chiefs decided on battle (17th June, 1053). Guiscard commanded the third or reserve battalion; the other two squadrons under Humfrey and Richard opened the battle by charging the Papalists, who had been drawn up in two divisions—the Italian-Lombards on the left, the Swabians on the right. Richard easily broke and routed far the Italian levies, but Humfrey, reinforced by Guiscard, encountered a desperate resistance from the German foot. The latter, only seven hundred in number, proved themselves equal to their reputation; forming an unbreakable front, and wielding their long striking swords, they struck down horses and men with single blows. It was only when Richard of Aversa returned and plunged in to Humfrey's help that the day was decided; the Germans, who preferred to die rather

* "Teutonici quia cæsaries et forma decoros
Fecerat egregie proceri corporis illos
Corpora derident Normannica quæ breviora
Esse videbantur nec eorum nuntia curant."

Guill. Ap., bk. ii., p. 259.

than turn their backs, were cut down to the last man.

Guiscard in particular proved himself a hero in his first great fight and, says the rhyming chronicler grimly, redressed the difference of stature between his Normans and the boastful Swabians by strokes which lopped off heads left and right.¹ That day, as eventful in Norman history as Hastings, gave Lower Italy to the followers of Humfrey and Richard; the whole history of the Norman conquest turned upon the victory of Civitate.

Leo fell into the hands of the victors; they knelt at his feet with all respect and escorted him safely to Benevento. It seems, however, that Humfrey regarded him as his prisoner; the Pope was not able to leave Benevento till March, 1054, shortly after which (19th April) he died at Rome.²

The coalition shattered, Humfrey and Richard resumed their former designs. Fresh sons of Tancred arrived in Italy, William, Mauger, and Geoffrey; they were set to harass Lombard and Greek on the borders of Salerno, in the Capitanata,

. . . magna

Corpora corporibus truncata minoribus æquat.³

Guill. Ap., bk. ii., p. 260.

For the battle see also Amatus, iii., 39, 40. For the campaign, see map 2 (the Norman states of Capua and Apulia) in this volume.

² The negotiations between Leo and the Normans are obscure; see Chalandon, *La domination normande*, i., p. 140-2. The Pope however died without abandoning his projects against them.

and about Lecce. Meanwhile, Guiscard was engaged in the conquest of Calabria. In the summer of 1057 Humfrey died and was buried by his two elder brothers in the Church of Santa Trinità in Venosa. On his deathbed, he made Guiscard the guardian of his infant sons Abelard and Herman, and was given a promise that their rights should be respected. But Guiscard, elected Count by the Norman magnates, regarded lightly his oath; it was not yet time for the principle of hereditary succession.

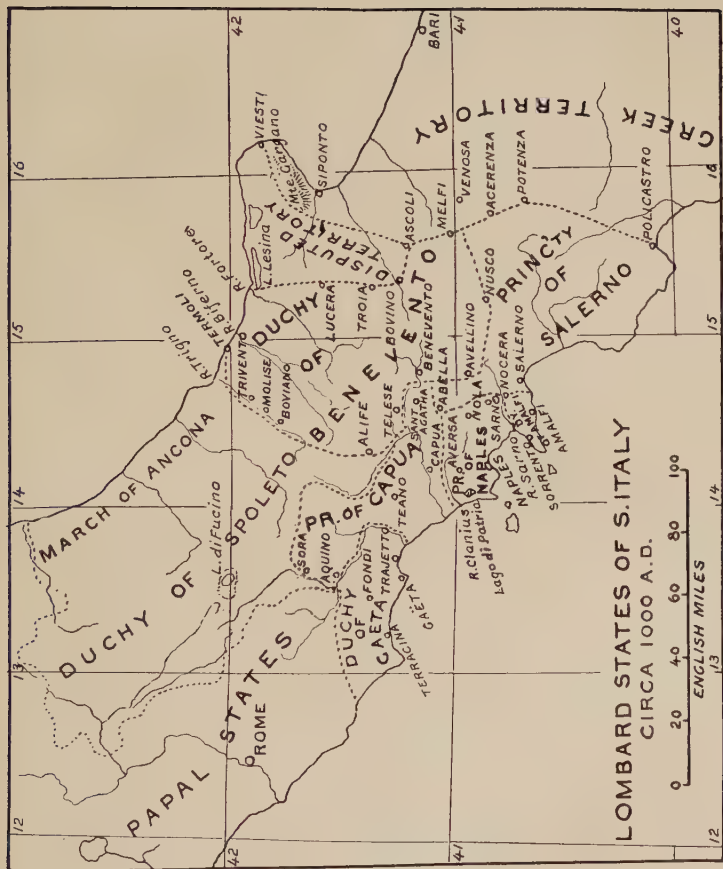
There now arrived the youngest of the sons of Tancred. Roger was the Benjamin of the house of Hauteville; of a genius somewhat unlike that of Robert, less far-reaching, of a more solid and perhaps constructive kind; with less of the knight-errant in him and more of the organiser, yet in his own way and on a smaller field he proved himself little less great than Guiscard. He is described by Malaterra as being of extreme beauty, of lofty stature, of graceful shape, eloquent in speech and cool in counsel, far-seeing in laying his plans, affable and open-hearted, strong of arm and a gallant fighter. Roger won his spurs first by accompanying Robert into Calabria, where they deprived the Greeks of almost all but Reggio (1057). But this was followed by a quarrel; for a time Roger lived like a bandit in his castle of Scalea near Melfi, warring both on his brother and his neighbours, and on one occasion stooping so low as to concert with his squire the theft of some

valuable horses from a house in Melfi where Roger himself was a guest.¹

Gisulf of Salerno remained the last native champion of Lombard freedom. Practically only Salerno was now his; the Normans had shorn away most of the old principality; and even in the remnant he was sore pressed by Richard and William Hauteville. He sought allies in the Amalfitans, the masters of the sea. Meanwhile, Pandulf V. of Capua died (1057); Richard at once besieged the city and forced it to surrender in June, 1058. The Lombard dynasty came to an end after two centuries of hereditary succession, and Richard became the first of a Norman line of dukes.

The necessities of the Reformed Papacy all these years were inclining the Roman Curia to a recognition of the Normans. At Easter, 1059, the Lateran Council, held under the presidency of Nicholas II., but guided by the will of Hildebrand, declared that with the cardinals lay the election of the Roman pontiff. This decisive step, intended to purge Papal elections from simony and popular influence, was aimed largely if not mainly at the Roman and local nobility, who had so frequently dominated the Papacy, and who remained still the great danger to those Reforming principles which Leo IX. had carried into the Papal office. But it struck also at imperial claims, for though it decreed that the cardinals

¹ Malaterra, i., chap. xix, xxv, xxvi.



"in accord with our son . . . Henry" should elect, "saving always the honour and respect due to Henry actual King, and, we hope, future Emperor," it added "and to those of his successors who shall have obtained this right personally from the Holy See." The Empire was now governed by a woman, and Henry IV. was a child, but it was almost inevitable that in time the wording of the decree should be questioned from Germany.

Since a spiritual authority could not stand alone either against the Empire or the Roman patricians, temporal allies must be found. It was again Hildebrand who saved the Church from her difficulties, in winning over the Normans, as allies of the Cluniac Papacy, to defend Rome at once from the Germans, and from the Roman and Tusculan nobles, who with a Benedict or Cadalus as anti-pope threatened to undo the work of a century of Reform, and annul the election decree of Nicholas.

In 1058, Hildebrand came south. At Monte Cassino his friend Desiderius was abbot, in Salerno, his admirer the poet Alfano was Archbishop; the two stood for Church Reform in the south. After securing the great Benedictine abbey against the attacks of Capua by a practical recognition of Richard, he returned north with three hundred Norman horse as an escort. In the summer of 1059, the Pope himself came to a great synod at Melfi where the mail-clad Normans mingled with the bishops and abbots of the south. Little

regard was paid to the claims of Constantinople or the Western Empire; a great flourish was made of the Donations of Constantine, Charlemagne, Otto; but after the preamble Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily were conferred upon Guiscard, and Capua on Richard. Guiscard, "by the grace of God and St. Peter, Duke of Apulia and Calabria and, if either aid me, future lord of Sicily," swore on bended knee homage to the Pope for himself and his heirs; he promised to respect the Patrimony and secure it to the Pope; never to ravage or attack the principality; to aid in Papal elections so that the decree of Nicholas might be carried out; finally to pay for his domains a tribute of two pence of Pavia yearly on every yoke of oxen.¹ Richard made for Capua an oath of a similar nature.

The investiture at Melfi was a natural consequence of Civitate. The Papacy adopted an opportunist line, abandoned the Lombards, and surrendered South Italy to its former enemies. The advantages to both parties were great. What the *entente* meant to Guiscard and Richard need not

¹ There are two versions of Guiscard's oath, contained in Delarc, *Les Normands en Italie*, p. 325-6, and in the *Regesta*, ed. Jaffé, p. 386. Richard's oath is given in Delarc, p. 329, and in Tosti, *Storia di Monte Cassino*, i., p. 398. Both Delarc (p. 32) and Giesebrecht (*Die deutsche Kaiserzeit*, vol. iii., p. 1086) consider that the tribute was meant as a compensation to the Pope for the domains which belonged by right to St. Peter in Southern Italy and Sicily, and not as a feudal rent from the land as a whole.

be dwelt on; to the Papacy it meant that after centuries of contention the lower peninsula was in the possession of a race which promised to be faithful to St. Peter, which might be counted on to expel Greeks and Moslems from every corner of the land, and to bring it under the Holy See and into conformity with the Western Church. Again, the Reformed Papacy cherished the hope that Italy might be freed from foreign influence; there seemed a prospect in the north that every Rome-journey of the Western Emperor would find Lombardy and Tuscany more hostile and intransigent; added to that, the Normans, already half localised and now made loyal children of St. Peter, would build up a native power in Lower Italy which would contest all foreign claims. Again, the Normans were matchless fighters; the Papacy hoped to draw from the south at every moment of danger military aid enough to defy Germany, and crush the Roman noblesse.

The unfortunate Gisulf seemed now abandoned. But Guiscard had in 1058 married the Prince of Salerno's sister Sigelgaita, repudiating the Norman Alberada. Sigelgaita was a woman of great beauty, wisdom, and courage, a fit mate for the Norman, whose every ambition she seems to have shared from this time. For her sake Robert put a stop to the attacks of William and other freelances and leaving Salerno for the time secure turned to the expulsion of the Greeks. By the middle of 1060 the Byzantines held on the Apulian coast only

Bari, Otranto, and a few other towns; in the same year the two Hautevilles took Reggio and the conquest of Calabria was complete.

It was in the conquest of Sicily that the youngest son of Tancred found his life-work and his fame. On the mainland Guiscard dominated the course of affairs, and Roger found that his brother, while generous in gold and silver, was slow to reward him in lands and fiefs.¹ In Sicily there was a new world to conquer, an island richer than South Italy itself, and now dominated by the Moslems, against whom a war of aggression needed no excuse. Many considerations urged this enterprise. An island so near and in Moslem hands placed in peril Guiscard's conquests on the mainland; his brother's claim and enterprise were dangerous to him. Robert's mind suggested the hope that while he could well employ Roger's sword in conquering the island he himself would retain it as an appanage of the duchy of Apulia and Calabria.

Sicily had been for two hundred years in Moslem hands; under enlightened rulers it had become the centre of an Arab civilisation as splendid as that of Cordova itself. For the purposes of government, it had been divided into three areas, each under the jurisdiction of a *wali* or judge, namely the Val di Noto, the Val di Mazzara, and the

¹ Malaterra, i., chap. xxi, "Dux autem quamvis pecunia largus in distributione quidem terrarum aliquantulum parcior erat."

Val Demone.¹ The Val di Mazzara covered the west of the island from where the central ridge of mountains dies into the lesser hills, it contained Palermo, and stretched to Cape Boeo; here the Saracens were most numerous. The Val di Noto covered the southern triangle of the island. The Val Demone was formed by the great chain of the Apennines and Etna, a land of innumerable valleys and mountain fastnesses, its eastern point being Messina. Here survived a remnant of the former Byzantine population, and there was a considerable element in all the greater towns of Sicily. Enjoying freedom in trade and the practice of their faith, the Christians were, however, subjected to the *gezia*, a poll-tax everywhere imposed by the Moslems upon those who would not embrace Islam.

Three Arab emirs now divided Sicily, independent of one another and of Africa, in Mazzara Abd-allah, in Castrogiovanni Ibn-al-Hawas, in Syracuse Ibn-at-Timnah, and their feuds invited the foreign invader. It was in spring, 1060, that Roger made his first attack upon Messina but neither then nor early in 1061 did he meet with success. In May, 1061, however, Guiscard and he crossed the strait with two thousand men, and Messina yielded to them. Hence they were guided

¹ Val here can of course scarcely be the Italian for "valley," and must mean a *vilayet* or *welâia*; see Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia*, vol. i., p. 464. The best modern authority for the conquest of Sicily is Amari, the contemporary historian is Malaterra.

into the interior by Ibn-at-Timnah himself, and in the mountain country of Etna were greeted by the Christians as deliverers sent from God. Taking Rametta, they pierced as far inland as Castrogiovanni, following the valley of the Dittaino. Here they were assailed by a Moslem army of, it is said, fifteen thousand horse beside foot, which descended from the almost impregnable citadel. The battle was typical of the whole conquest, in the fewness of the Norman troops, and in the ardour with which the knights, after taking the Sacrament, made the universal sign of the cross and charged upon the infidels. The first column led by Roger broke the Moslem lines and drove them in flight towards the city.

Little came of this expedition save that the castles of San Marco and Troina were built to command the Val Demone, and occupied by garrisons, the latter perhaps the most commanding fortress that has ever been built in Europe, for the hill on which it stood is 3650 feet high. Indeed on returning to Italy the two brothers came to blows. Roger had found awaiting him at Mileto his former love, Judith, daughter of Count William of Evreux, whom her brother Robert of Grantmesnil, Abbot of St. Evroul, had brought to Italy. The two lovers were married but Guiscard refused his brother the land wherewith to make the *morgengab* to his wife, and Roger took up arms. It was only after Guiscard had fallen into his brother's hands that he yielded. Early in 1062,

in the valley of the Crati, a treaty was drawn up, after an interview in which the two embraced one another in tears, "like Joseph and Benjamin of old," says Malaterra. Calabria was divided between the brothers by a sort of *condominium* or equal ownership, by which each was to possess the half of each castle and town in that province.¹

Roger now devoted himself to the conquest of Sicily, a task which was not completed till thirty years after its inception. The slowness of the enterprise can be explained by other things than the stubborn defence of the Moslems. Never at any time save at the capture of Palermo could Roger dispose of large forces. In 1062, he commanded only a hundred knights, though he was soon after reinforced by thirty under the leadership of his nephew Serlo, his partner in the conquest and a gallant and able soldier. The army of which these were the nucleus could not have numbered more than six hundred all told. Again Roger was constantly being recalled to aid his brother in Italy, and could not turn his whole mind to the conquest of the island. Thus the fighting in the first years was largely a matter of skirmishes, raids, ambushes, the permanent gains being represented by the fortresses which he built at Troina, Petralia, Nicosia, and elsewhere, which, manned by sturdy little garrisons, gradually bridled the eastern country.

The Norman hold on Sicily was indeed soon

¹ Chalandon, *op. cit.*, i., p. 200.

threatened by an alliance of the native Moslems with Temim, the Zirid prince of Tunis. By the terms of this, the Sultan's two sons, Ayûb and Ali, came with a strong fleet and army to Sicily. In the summer of 1063 an army of Africans and Sicilians marched from Palermo upon Roger's western outpost, Troina. The Norman, however, advanced to meet them, and gave them a complete overthrow at Cerami, an epical battle in which he himself, his nephew Serlo, and his lieutenant Arisgot of Pozzuoli proved themselves heroes. The victory was received at Rome with enthusiasm; the Pope sent a holy banner, and proclaimed the war a crusade.

Moslem dissensions played the Norman game, and the sons of Temim found themselves opposed by those whom they had come to save. In 1068 Roger overthrew Ayûb at Misilmeri near Palermo, and the African party vanished with the return of the latter to Tunis. There was now no one left to unite the Moslems and oppose a single front to the invaders.

All this while the line of Norman advance had been along the north coast towards the capital. The capture of Palermo was all-important for the conquest, and a city so wealthy and splendid roused the cupidity of the Norman leaders. The strategic eye could moreover see that, once taken, it would be easy to hold, with its long and noble harbour, and the chain of mountains that completely encircled it.

In July, 1071, a fleet of fifty ships collected by Guiscard from Bari and the Apulian towns appeared before Palermo and landed the Duke and his troops on the east side of the city where the river Oreto joins the sea. Roger meanwhile, with an army of 18,000 men, approached from the land side and joined his brother.

Palermo was for that age a vast city, with 300 mosques, and a population probably amounting to 300,000. The Normans, however, completely enclosed the city from the land side during the autumn and winter of 1071, while their fleet though it could not entirely blockade the harbour prevented any effectual relief coming by sea. The defenders also could hope for little help from the Moslems of the interior since Serlo had been charged to vigorously prosecute the war in the hills about Castrogiovanni. Roger watched the siege from the south-west, while Guiscard lay before the quarter of old Palermo which was called Khalesa (the chosen) and which stretched from the modern Porta Felice to the Porta dei Grechi and San Francisco. On January the 7th, 1072, the Duke resolved to storm the city. An attack which was merely a feint was made by Roger upon the south-west; meanwhile, Guiscard set up his ladders against the walls of Khalesa and forced his way in near the modern Convento della Gancia. The city might yet have resisted, but after two days a party of resistance yielded on terms. By these the Moslems were to practise their religion

freely, and were to be governed by their own judges and their own laws, terms honourably kept by the conquerors for over a hundred years. Palermo thus taken, Guiscard appointed as governor of the city a Norman officer to whom he gave the name *ammiratus* or "emir," and ordered to be built a palace or rather a citadel in the south of the city where now stands the royal palace. There followed a great enfeoffment of Sicily. Roger was invested by his brother as Count of Sicily, but Guiscard retained the suzerainty of the island and the actual possession of Palermo, the Val Demone, and the half of Messina. Fiefs were also given to Serlo and Arisgot.

The capture of Palermo and the gradual conquest of Sicily were a deadly blow to Islam. For two centuries the Moslems had not only held this island, but they had contested from it Lower Italy with Greek, German, and Lombard. Henceforth Sicily was to be in the hands of a Latin and Catholic race. From Sicily again the Normans would in future threaten Moslem Africa; in occupying that island they drove, as it were, a wedge into the mass of Mohammedan states that stretched from the Tigris to the Ebro. In this they are the true precursors of the Crusades.

There were twenty years of conquest before Roger yet. The fall of Palermo led to the submission of the Mazzara and the country about it. Yet the Moslems held out in the Val Demone itself, in the mountain region between Messina, Taor-

mina, and Troina, while there were still native emirs in Syracuse, Trapani, and Castrogiovanni. It was while engaged in war against the latter that the gallant young Serlo, out hunting and without armour, was cut off along with a few companions by a raiding party of Moslems, and retiring to a rock which the Arabs still called a hundred years later *Hagar Sarlu* (Serlo's rock) sold his life dearly.

From 1075, the war took a vigour which it had previously lacked. The Moslems of Syracuse found at least a gallant soldier in their Emir Bernavert; Jordan, the natural son of Roger, leading an expedition against him, was ambushed and defeated. This recalled the Count to Sicily and now indeed the war became a crusade; in effect Roger had now built up a fleet of his own, on the model of Guiscard's, and could contemplate war by land and sea. By means of his ships, he took Trapani in the summer of 1077. In August, 1079, by the fall of Taormina the Moslems were reduced to three strongholds only, Girgenti, Syracuse, and Castrogiovanni. The Emir of Syracuse was yet capable of a gallant resistance, and even more than that, for in 1084 his galleys plundered Reggio and Nicotera on the Calabrian coast. But he was at last overwhelmed by the armaments which the Count collected in the winter of 1085. At the end of March, 1086, Roger's fleet sailed into the harbour of Syracuse; Bernavert, in engaging them, had to abandon one sinking ship for another; in

doing so he fell into the sea and was drowned. The city itself surrendered in October, and during the siege Roger also reduced Girgenti. In turn Castrogiovanni, Butera, and Noto surrendered, the last, in 1091, sending offers of surrender to Mileto, from whence the Count despatched Jordan to occupy the citadel and impose an annual tribute. The last native prince, Hâmud of Castrogiovanni, was content to embrace Christianity and retire to a rich fief in Calabria. Finally Roger's fleet carried him to his last triumph; in 1091 he sailed to Malta and Gozo, whose people accepted his suzerainty and pledged themselves to an annual tribute.

By 1091, Roger was lord of Sicily and governed it from his capital of Messina or Troina. During the conquest he had loyally assisted Guiscard in the twenty years following the investiture at Melfi, during which the last of the Lombard and native states fell and the Greeks were finally expelled.

In 1058, the city of Capua had yielded to Richard but on terms which left the citizens the control of the gates and fortress. The rest of the duchy itself was steadily absorbed by the Norman; at the end of 1063 he was master of practically all its territory from Gaëta southwards. The capital became his leading object; he summoned it in March, 1062, to surrender the gates and the fortress to him; the citizens refused and suffered a siege in which they showed a resolution worthy of

the losing cause of their race; in May, however, they were forced to yield, and the capital of Pandulf Iron-Head became Richard's. There yet remained Lombard dynasts in Trajetto, Sora, and elsewhere, but their leagues could make no stand against the Prince and his son Jordan.

Only one of the ancient principalities survived the general wreck, and Salerno was the last stronghold of the Lombard cause. But Amalfi, Sorrento, and Naples belonged also to the old order of things; they too were threatened by the insatiable Normans; the question was to whom would they fall, Richard or Guiscard?

The Greeks and the native states were doomed together. Bari was still the seat of the Catapan, the gateway and the key of Apulia. In 1068 Robert besieged it by land and sea, and, in spite of Greek fleets and Norman revolts in Apulia, forced it into surrender after a three years' siege on April 16, 1071. Not one foot of ground remained to the Byzantines in Lower Italy from Policastro round to Siponto.

Guiscard was finally master of Apulia. But a succession of Norman revolts shook his power there; they found their origin in the claims of Abelard and Herman, the disinherited sons of Humfrey Hauteville, in the resentment which the sons of the first-comers felt towards the ascendancy of Guiscard, in the usual feudal repugnance to the rule of law and a strong sovereignty. Supported by Greek gold, encouraged by Richard of Capua,

having the Greek mainland for a base, they shook the power of the Duke more than once. But he was able to complete the doom of Salerno, whose noble harbour and castled hill alone could make him a worthy capital. Gisulf made a gallant effort to avert his fate; he strove to build up a league of sea-towns from Salerno to San Eufemia but the plan needed the acquiescence of Amalfi, and he foolishly tried to secure it by an attack upon that city in 1073.

Hildebrand was now Pope under the name of Gregory VII. The state of Lower Italy filled him with apprehension. Gisulf and the remaining free states looked to the Holy See to save them from the Normans. As for those champions of Cluniac election, their feuds were desolating the land, while towards churches and the native populations they showed themselves merciless as ever. Not content with Capua, Richard attacked the borders of the Patrimony; at the same time his son Jordan and Robert of Loritello, son of Drogo of Hauteville, were invading the Abruzzi and threatening to add Spoleto to the Norman conquests. In 1073, Amalfi had to accept Guiscard as overlord. In February, 1074, Pandulf IV., son of Landulf of Benevento, fell in battle with the Duke of Apulia's troops at Monte Serchio. The cry of the native states of Italy was carried to the Pope; moreover he saw little hope of securing the south for the Reformed Church until the Normans were bridled, or expelled.



A PRESENT-DAY VIEW OF SALERNO WITH THE LOMBARD CASTLE

PHOTO BY ALINARI

In spite of a world of difficulties he refused to temporise; in March, 1074, he hurled the Ban against Guiscard and Richard. It could not arrest the death-struggle of Norman and Lombard. In May, 1076, Robert besieged Salerno by land and sea; Greeks and Saracens despatched by Roger swelled his forces; and the fleet of Amalfi commanded the harbour. Gisulf made a gallant and desperate resistance; his people showed a like resolution and held out until the stress of hunger became too great. On the night of the 13th December, Salerno was taken amid the usual scenes of slaughter; Gisulf, however, awakened from sleep, escaped to the castle, whose situation on the high hill a thousand feet above the town was one of the most impregnable and difficult in Italy. There he held out till the last days of May, 1077, but resistance was useless against the Norman posts which surrounded the whole base of the hill; he surrendered the castle and after an interview in which Robert showed little generosity abandoned for ever the city where his race had been lords for over three hundred years. The end of the last great Lombard was that of a landless wanderer; after haunting the Papal court for some years, a last ray of glory fell on him when in 1088 Amalfi, in revolt against Guiscard's son, took him for lord. Somewhere about 1090 he ended his troubled career in solitude and poverty in the region of the Sarno.

Naples alone survived the general overthrow

for sixty years yet. But in Benevento the old race was extinct with Landulf VI., who had been restored in 1054 to die childless in 1077. Guiscard at once laid siege to the city, a move which roused Gregory's wrath to the highest, but a fresh Apulian revolt forced the Duke to relinquish his design of adding Benevento to Salerno.

In the north the great war between Pope and Emperor had begun; on January 24, 1076, Henry IV. had deposed Gregory at the Synod of Worms; the Pope had replied by both deposing and excommunicating Henry at the Roman Synod of Lent in the same year. But the iron-willed Gregory still refused to hear of terms with the Normans whose grasp had all but fastened on Naples and the Papal fief of Benevento. At length, however, the revival of Henry's power after the day of Canossa, and the falling away of the Papal supporters, forced Gregory once more to revive the *entente* with the uncontrollable Normans. Only so could he hope to stay the advance of Robert of Loritello and Jordan of Capua, who had conquered the lower Abruzzi, the eastern half for Apulia, the western for Capua.

In summer, 1080, the Pope took the road to the south. Richard of Capua was dead (April, 1078), but his son Jordan came to Gregory at Ceprano on the borders of the Patrimony, was released, after submission, from the Papal Ban, and was invested with Capua. Nineteen days later Guiscard came in, was also absolved, and renewed the

oath of homage. The Pope confirmed him in his lands with the conquests of Robert of Loritello, but ordered him to cease from the attacks on Spoleto, Benevento, and Monte Cassino, and refused to legitimise the possession of Salerno and Amalfi.¹ On his side the Norman undertook to put his sword at need in Gregory's service.

The Duke of Apulia henceforth contented himself with the limits of his Italian conquests. He now turned his eyes towards the Eastern Empire; and many motives led him to his last great enterprise, the attack upon the dominions of the Basileus. In 1078, he had had to suppress a bloody two-years' revolt in Apulia which, backed by the Greeks, had for a time lost him most of Apulia. The Greek mainland, the Byzantine court, still remained an asylum for his dangerous rebels, and the Duke was ready to punish the Greeks for their connivance. Again, Guiscard's ambition was insatiable; even at an advanced age he could entertain grandiose schemes for the conquest of all or part of the Greek Empire, and even for seating himself on the throne of the Basileus. In Italy he posed as a legitimate successor of the Emperor; copied his court dress, and imitated on his coins the imperial effigy; it was not beyond possibility that he might assume the state of a Basileus on the eastern side of the Adriatic.

The strong impulse of Norman conquest was

¹ See Chalandon, vol. ii., p. 232. Guiscard of course took little heed of the Papal prohibition about Amalfi or Salerno.

yet in full flow; Guiscard and his comrades had founded a great land power in Southern Italy; the Normans were next to take to the sea. The siege of Bari had filled them with confidence in the ships which, drawn from the subject coast towns, had forced the Greek capital to surrender¹; from that time, at Palermo and elsewhere, their marine was responsible for half of their triumphs. "The geographical configuration of Italy evidently demands a fleet."² The Normans rose superior to the Lombards whom they supplanted by the possession of a marine; that fact again bound them to an aggressive foreign policy, and since Byzantium was at once the enemy and a power wealthy, decaying, and despised, they entered upon a series of expeditions against the Empire which did not cease for a hundred years.

Guiscard was at no loss for a pretext against the Byzantines. Michael VII. had some years before entered into communications with the Duke, whose assistance he was ready to invoke to prop up the falling house of Ducas. The end of a marriage proposal was that, in 1074, Guiscard's daughter was escorted to Constantinople, where she received the name Helena, and was destined for the bride of Micheal's young son, Constantine. But in 1078 Michael was driven off the throne,

¹ "Gens Normannorum navalis nescia belli
Hactenus ut victrix reduit."

Guill. Ap., bk. iii., lines 132-4.

² Delarc, *Les Normands en Italie*, p. 455.

which after long confusion the general Alexius Comnenus ascended, a man of considerable character who was able to found a dynasty that lasted a century. The marriage scheme was of course upset, but Alexius treated Helena with every consideration. This, however, was not enough to appease Guiscard; he received and maintained a refugee called Michael VII., probably an impostor, and collected an armada with the open intention of restoring him.

In May, 1081, the Duke of Apulia left Otranto with 1300 knights and 15,000 men-at-arms, escorted by the fleets of Bari, Salerno, and Amalfi; Roger Borsa, his eldest son by Sigelgaita, was left behind to hold Apulia. Guiscard had with him his wife, her sons Guy and Robert, and Bohemund, son of the Norman Alberada, a picturesque figure, the image of his father in courage, craft, and hardihood. In 1081 they captured the island-fortress of Corfu and besieged Durazzo, "the key of the Empire upon the west." A Venetian fleet interposed to save Durazzo, for the city of the lagoons was bound over to the Empire by commercial concessions and had already begun to "police the Adriatic." On the land side the Byzantine engineers burned down Guiscard's wooden cats, battering-rams, and towers by means of the Greek fire. Finally Alexius himself led forward against the besiegers 70,000 men, of whom part were the Varanger Guard. The Normans mustered only 14,000 men, but they promptly gave battle.

Among the mail-clad infantry of the Varangers were some hundreds of English who had preferred foreign service to the yoke of the Conqueror; they may have seen in Guiscard's troops the same race which had triumphed at Hastings; at least it is recorded that the Norman horse recoiled before the stubborn lines of the Varangers. They rallied again, however, at the voice of Sigelgaita, who in person led them forward; their charges shattered the Greeks and broke the resistance of the Varangers; at last Alexius rode away from a complete disaster. Durazzo fell, Castoria followed, and Guiscard prepared to march upon the capital. But the conditions in Italy recalled him and saved the Empire; he returned to Apulia leaving Boheimund in charge of the army of invasion.

Gregory VII. had desperate need of the aid which the Duke had promised at Ceprano. At Whitsuntide, Henry IV. appeared before Rome with his anti-pope Guibert who was to crown him at St. Peter's. The Pope retained little more in the city than the fortress of San Angelo; deserted on all sides he sent an urgent message to Guiscard to march to his relief. Meanwhile Alexius had bribed Henry to fall upon Apulia, and the Duke saw that if San Angelo should fall a German army would be loosed on his dominions. There was a fresh revolt of the Apulian rebels to add to this, and in the summer of 1083 Guiscard was in camp at Cannæ, beginning once more the suppression of the malcontents. From thence he

sent a large sum to Gregory, and Norman gold procured the Pope some armed adherents in Rome.

In the spring of 1084, the three years' siege of Rome seemed about to end; Henry occupied all the city except San Angelo. In March he was crowned at St. Peter's, the anti-pope was also consecrated; the whole cause of the Reformed Papacy hung upon a single fortress on the Tiber. But already Guiscard was hurrying north with 60,000 men, Normans, Lombards, and Saracens. His heralds bade Henry either abandon Rome or prepare for battle with the vassal of St. Peter; the aged Duke once more armed himself to do battle with those Germans against whom he won his spurs at Civitate.

Henry did not await battle, but on May 21st quitted Rome for the north, charging the Romans and Guibert's Lombard-German army at Tivoli to defend the city. On May 27th the Duke was at St. John's gate; the next day friendly hands opened the doors and the Normans poured in with shouts of "a Guiscard" over the bridge of St. Peter's and up to San Angelo, from which they brought the Pope to the Lateran, the Romans making little resistance. But a scuffle in which a soldier of the Duke was cut down set a spark to the dangerous temper of both sides; Guiscard gave a head to the spirit of vengeance, and the districts about the Lateran and Colosseum ran with the blood of the Romans; rape and massacre were

followed by a conflagration which destroyed most of the old city.

In June the Duke of Apulia turned south, the Pope riding silent and gloomy in his train, and the camp thronged with thousands of captives destined for slavery in Apulia or Sicily. The deliverance had been disastrous, so Gregory must reflect; even the city which Guiscard had saved from the Germans, now silent and in ashes, was occupied in triumph by the anti-pope as the two rode into Benevento. On May 25, 1085, the great Pope died at Salerno, and was buried in the cathedral of the Lombard dukes.

The great Norman was not long to survive him. On the Greek mainland Bohemund had for a time pushed as far as Larissa and Ochrida, but when he returned in the winter of 1083 to gather reinforcements from Apulia, the attacks of the Greeks broke his army to pieces. In September, 1084, Guiscard sailed again to recover the conquests, and Corfu was retaken. Meanwhile fever broke out in the Norman army and Robert, sailing to Cephalonia, was seized with the infection. He was landed hastily at Cassiopi in Corfu and there the great Duke died in the arms of Roger and Sigelgaita (17th July, 1085). On the news a panic seized the Normans, the conquests were abandoned, and a general *sauve qui peut* followed; Venetian and Greek ships accounted for those who did not regain the Apulian coast. Roger and Sigelgaita also hastened back to secure the succession in the



duchy from Bohemund. They took the Duke's body with them and finally buried it at Venosa in the church of S. Trinità next to his brothers William, Drogo, and Humfrey. An inscription on the tomb ran, *hic terror mundi Guiscardus*; but both tomb and epitaph have disappeared.¹

Robert Guiscard was seventy years old when he died; had a few more years of life been granted him he might have crowned his extraordinary career by the assumption of the diadem of the Basileus at Constantinople. He is the true hero of the epic of the Norman conquest of Lower Italy. In statecraft and genius for conquest he is perhaps not inferior to his contemporary William the Conqueror; his wonderful rise to fortune, his natural gifts, his physical beauty, his turn for knight-errantry, his limitless conceptions of empire make him a far more picturesque figure than that other giant of Norman history. He began as one of an obscure and crowded family of portionless sons; by sheer force of character and with little to favour him he ended as the iron-handed ruler of one of the richest portions of Europe. No sanction of birth, lineage, or hereditary right gave him any claim to be regarded as legitimate lord by the Normans, his compeers in the conquest of Apulia, every one of whom thought himself as much entitled, and as well able, to play the master as he; an iron hand, limitless resource, superiority of personal courage,

¹ Will. Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, lib. iii., R.S., p. 322, and Bertaux, *op. cit.*, i., p. 320.

a will that shrank from no moral objections alone gave him a final mastery.

The picturesque side as well as the solid parts of his character, his successes as compared with his obscure origin, secured him the admiration of his own times and those which remembered him. The historian Anna Comnena, writing a generation later from the record of Greeks who knew the great Norman, sums up strikingly the impressive figure which the refined and punier Byzantines had every cause to fear. She describes him as a man of obscure fortune, desirous of dominion, crafty, strong-handed, greedy of others' possessions, most tenacious in following his object, and not to be thwarted by any means from the end he aimed at. In stature he dominated all men, his skin was ruddy, his hair blonde, his shoulders wide, his eyes a dead blue like the sea. His bearing was pleasant and polished; altogether from head to foot a most comely man; his voice like that of Achilles sounded like the noise of a great army.¹

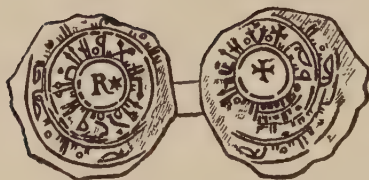
In his private life Guiscard seems to have inspired much affection. The conquest of Southern Italy was a family undertaking; among the many sons of Tancred, Robert attained the highest place as he was perhaps the ablest, but he showed much generosity to the brothers who sought their fortunes with him. It is too much to expect that he should have resigned Apulia to the sons of Humfrey. But the younger William, Mauger,

¹ P. 50, *Corpus script. Byz.*, vol. i.

and Geoffrey were richly enfeoffed by him. Towards Roger he showed an affection which the youngest son of Tancred returned by devoted support of his brother. Family loyalty was not too common in that age, and least of all among the headstrong Norman race. But Guiscard's wife and children never wavered in their affection; we hear of no disloyalty of Bohemund or Roger against their father, and Sigelgaita, though a sister of the last Lombard prince of Salerno, identified herself heart and soul with her husband.

A restless conqueror, Robert had in a high degree the instincts of a statesman. Arriving late on the field of Italy, he reaped the fruits of other men's victories in welding together almost all the scattered acquisitions of the Norman freebooters. Possessing a sense of religion French as distinct from German or Anglo-Saxon, he was no stickler for conservative ways. Like William the Conqueror, he willingly introduced the principles of the Reformed Papacy into his realm, yet the Church was not allowed to endanger his mastery there. The *entente* with the Holy See was a skilful act of policy; he saw that the tide was with the Cluniac Papacy, and that the approval of Rome could alone legalise his position and yet leave him the sovereign power. He was willing to pose as the champion of Catholic Christianity against Greek and Moslem, for in his shrewd, clear, and secular mind, he realised that that was to enlist the approval of Europe for the Hauteville conquests.

Only time and his restless designs of conquest prevented his turning to a work which he left unachieved, the organisation of the ducal power in Apulia and Salerno. The crowning work of conquest was left incomplete and Robert Guiscard remains, in the story of Norman Italy, the hero and pioneer, as his nephew Roger II. is the organiser and statesman.



TARIS OF ROBERT GUISCARD,
PRINCE OF SALERNO

CHAPTER II

THE TWO COUNTS OF SICILY

1085-1130

WITH Guiscard ends the hero-age of the Norman conquest of Southern Italy. His son Bohemund, in outward bearing the image of his father, but for all his knightly gifts doomed to be supplanted like Robert the Conqueror's son, was ousted from the succession by his half-brother Roger Borsa; Guiscard had probably wished it to be so, and the clever and strong-willed Sigelgaita secured the duchy for her own son, whose descent from the Lombard Gaimars made him more acceptable at Salerno than the Norman Bohemund. The latter had to be content with the title Prince of Taranto conferred on him by his father in 1080.

Roger Borsa was a weakling after a hero; dutiful to a fault towards the Church; colourless in character and known mainly to us by the numerous grants which he attests by his presence.

From his father he inherited a task to which he was unequal. Guiscard possessed an undoubted genius for government and the organising of power, but, hampered by Apulian revolts, drawn aside by grandiose designs, he had little time left for the tasks of statesmanship. Yet he left the ducal power a real thing. Widely as he was forced to subinfeudate the land, he yielded no dangerous regalia to his Norman vassals; they were bound to the conditions and duties of tenure which would have lain on them in England or the duchy of Normandy. The conquest was one of Normans over Lombards and Greeks, but he made no public show of ruling merely as one of the conquering race. In enfeoffing his barons he did not displace the local administration, the new lords had to act with the communal *nobiliores* as Greek officials had done; *gastalds* and *turmarchs* continued to exercise their various offices in the ducal name as, in his portion of Sicily, Moslem *cadis* administered by his authority. He posed as lawful successor of both the Greek Emperor and the Lombard princes, copying the style of the one, and making good the decrees of the other. Such a just balance his son must maintain in a country where Lombards and Greeks were yet the predominant population and where the former at least had not relinquished the hope of reversing the conquest.

A wide but ill-cemented dominion had been bequeathed to the new Duke. It is Guiscard's

main claim to greatness that out of the chaotic far-extended conquests of the Norman freebooters he laboured, with a success which was made final only by his nephew the second Count of Sicily, to make a single state with a definite organisation and definite frontiers. In the main all that Norman swords had won was made to depend on the Duke of Apulia, save the territory which Richard of Capua united under himself.

A word must be said as to the extent of Norman conquest on the mainland, so far as Guiscard and Richard with their lieutenants had carried it. Richard's son Jordan ruled a territory reaching from Reate, Valva, Amiterno, and the Marsiæ on the north to Nocera on the Sarno and the environs of Naples on the south; he possessed some vague claims over that city itself; at Ceprano his boundary touched that of the Patrimony; the coastline was his from Gaëta or even Terracina to Naples; Fondi, Trajetto, and Gaëta recognised him as their lord. While Capua under Norman dukes had bitten deeply into Beneventan territory, Guiscard had from the south and east completed the work of demolition, and the city of Benevento alone remained of the great Lombard duchy. While Robert's dominion touched the Capuan on the Sarno and about Benevento, northward it stretched over the lower Abruzzi. Before Guiscard died his nephew Robert of Loritello had carried his banner to the Pescara; he and other free-lances made their way to Chieti and the

county of Penne and installed themselves in the places of the Lombard lords of those districts.

Another Guiscard might have maintained a firm hold upon such distant adventurers, who naturally looked on their acquisitions as the reward of their own daring. Under a weak duke the Normans over the Fortore and among the mountain fastnesses of the Abruzzi would be emboldened to proclaim themselves no man's men. Even south of that line Guiscard's power had been shaken by several formidable revolts. The "Apulian baronage" began under the great Duke that career of faction and resistance which distinguished them for four centuries yet. The country they had conquered, with its countless mountain-glens and hill-spurs eminently suited to the feudal castle, favoured their spirit of isolated independence. They owned no allegiance to the upstart Hautevilles save what could be wrung out of them. The ducal power imposing feudal burdens upon them and bridling their privileges was as odious to them as to their brothers in England at a later time; in 1078 the Apulian vassals burst out into a bloody and desperate insurrection when Guiscard demanded an "aid" at the marriage of his daughter. If they dared defy the ducal power there were other names to date their sovereign acts by; if they could not venture on a full independence, they were as ready as the Apulian cities to adopt the Basileus of Constantinople as their sovereign.

In addition to these numerous and dangerous

feudatories, there were two other elements that needed delicate handling. The maritime city-states of Amalfi and Gaëta were only too likely to set up dukes and consuls of their own again. The Lombard people was not yet without hope; everywhere in the Campania there still survived many petty lords, relatives of the greater dispossessed princes, and claimants to their places. The three ancient Lombard duchies had gone; but who could say that the Catapan would not return, that the western sea-towns would not recover their autonomy, that Southern Italy under the Normans would not revert to a disintegration more complete than that which preceded the conquest?

Under the second Duke of Apulia these dangers seemed very near. While, within the duchy, endless confusion reigned, the frontiers themselves shrank; here the astute Roger of Sicily had to be rewarded; there the border lordships claimed independence. Roger, himself half a Lombard, was unwise enough to confide too deeply in the conquered race, and a partial Lombard-Italian resurgence took place. Amalfi for a time had its own duke again, just as in the north Gaëta restored its consuls and shook itself free of Capua.

The reign of Roger Borsa lasted twenty-six years. His first act on securing his succession was to reward his uncle Roger of Sicily, who supported him as consistently as he had supported his father but not without interested motives, by

giving him his share in the castles of Calabria. But concessions did not bring peace; for ten years his half-brother Bohemund was in opposition, demanding at the lowest terms an extent of territory which would have reduced the duchy greatly on its south-east side. A revolt of 1087 ended in Bohemund's securing all Apulia from Bari to Brindisi as a fief of the duchy. In 1088, Amalfi was in revolt, and the exiled Gisulf was seen commanding its fleet and army against Sigelgaita's son. The revolt was suppressed (April, 1089) but seven years later the city rose again and restored the old régime under a duke, Marinus.

The First Crusade lightened the pressure from Duke Roger, as it did from every ruler in Europe who struggled in the nets of feudal privilege. His picturesque rival Bohemund was for the time aiding him to overcome the tenacious spirit of Amalfi and the siege was being pressed hard (1096), when Bohemund heard of the march of armies streaming eastward on the great enterprise. The son of Guiscard was more of a knight-errant than a statesman; the epic of the conquest of Apulia was over, but that of the crusading Franks was about to begin; and his adventurous spirit resolved in a moment to leave the played-out drama of Italy for a land where everything was yet to be accomplished. Bohemund abandoned his brother's camp before Amalfi and the event saved the stubborn city; along with him there assumed the Cross five grandsons and two great-grandsons

of Tancred of Hauteville. The claims and the territorial power of the collateral Hautevilles had been to Guiscard, and remained to Duke Roger, a standing danger; the day of relief began when they turned their backs on Italy.

The conquest of Apulia was a family enterprise; the Hautevilles repeated the story on the soil of Syria. Bohemund by craft as much as courage, and aided by his nephew Tancred, son of Guiscard's daughter Emma, secured for himself the city and territory of Antioch. He founded a principality there which outlasted the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem itself, and held its own against Greeks and Turks for nearly two hundred years, till the seventh Bohemund died without a male heir in 1288. The most eastern of those states which from the Orontes to the Shannon were the fruit of Norman enterprise, the principality of Antioch was in effect a continuation of the Norman conquest of Apulia and Sicily, the last individual feat of arms of the sons of Tancred.

Relieved by his brother's departure, the power of Duke Roger revived. Thus it was for him a triumph that Richard II. of Capua, son of Jordan, being expelled from his capital, had to seek the ducal aid against his people. For, when the two Rogers restored him in June, 1099, after a siege which lasted a whole year, the young Prince of Capua had to swear homage to Apulia, and surrender whatever claims he had on Naples, an act the consequences of which his race never escaped.

Again in 1100, Roger Borsa recovered Amalfi. But in Apulia his vassals and the towns were slipping from his grasp; thus the Count of Conversano, the towns of Barletta, Bitonto, Terlizzi were dating their acts from the accession of the Emperor Alexius. It was the same farther north; thus among the Abruzzi Robert of Loritello assumed to himself the high sounding title *comes comitum*. The principality of Capua showed a similar process of decay; Fondi and Maranola appear under counts of Lombard name, Gaëta in 1090 took a certain Landulf to lord, after him there succeeded dukes and consuls, and from 1113 the suzerainty of Constantinople was recognised.

The history of Sicily under Roger was in striking contrast to that of Apulia and Capua.

The death of Guiscard left his brother the real head of the Hautevilles. The Papacy looked to him rather than to his nephew to put into effect the armed assistance stipulated for at Melfi and Ceprano. Technically Roger of Sicily remained the vassal of his nephew, but, as we have seen, the Duke of Apulia was compelled to reward the Sicilian's aid by concessions which weakened that dependence; to these he added in 1091 the half of Palermo, after the two Rogers had subdued the revolted Cosenza.

In his own dominion the power of Roger of Sicily was complete; fortunate in its inception, made strong and supple by a wise and many-sided statesmanship. From the first the danger of an

"Apulian baronage" was made impossible; the handful of adventurers, Norman, French, Italian, who followed the Count were made aware that it was Roger's hand which conferred favours. Two great enfeoffments of Sicily took place in 1072 and 1091, but no single fief of any great extent was granted, nor were any dangerous privileges conceded. As a result Sicily, whose insular position itself favoured the power of government, remained, under him and his immediate successor, as free of feudal revolts as Apulia was agitated by them.

The Count was faced by the fact that Sicily was a meeting place of races, civilisations, and tongues. On this fact he built a system of government in which power was based on the toleration of free intermingling of elements which could not be combined by force; it was a policy of necessity but it is to the credit of the first Roger that he saw the need.

Two races in the main were in occupation of Sicily, the Greeks and the Moslems. The Greeks were in possession of the churches, and the Christianity of the island owed no allegiance to Rome. The Count gave full liberty of worship and internal autonomy to the Orthodox bishops and abbots, on the other hand they acknowledged in him the authority which the Basileus had formerly possessed over the election and deposing of bishops. The civilisation of the Byzantines was left undisturbed; Greek remained an official language along with Latin and Arabic.

The Moslems were relatively newcomers in Sicily but in three hundred years their faith and culture had been deeply rooted in the island. The wealth of the towns was mainly theirs, a large peasantry of their race existed, and the armed resources of the Moslems in the island were still considerable. Even if a conqueror had wished violently to uproot the Arab population the task was too great; it was a nation of soldiers as well as of artists and traders, and numerous bands of warriors continued to hold out in the interior. Again toleration was the only policy which a statesman could consider. In the towns the Moslems secured terms which left them free in their industry and the practice of their religion; they kept their mosques and cadis; the office of emir survived and the name passed into Latin service as *ammiratus* or "admiral"; at Palermo the emir was indeed a Latin official, but in other places a Moslem often retained the title. In the country districts the mass of the Moslem cultivators were subjected to feudal services and became little better than manorial serfs elsewhere; but it was no worse fate than they had dealt out formerly to the Christians.

It is probable that the submission of Moslem Sicily was effected more by statecraft than by war. The party of resistance was won over, and the bands which had kept up the struggle among the highlands disappeared; they returned to the towns or enlisted in the Count's armed service. Roger saw the military value of the Moslems, and forming

them into infantry troops led by officers of their own nobility began a tradition of Saracen mercenaries which even outlasted Manfred.

When the Count of Sicily lands on the mainland to aid Guiscard or Duke Roger he is seen accompanied by "an innumerable army of Arabs." In 1098 he brought a large force of Moslem soldiery to the siege of Capua. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, was then in exile in Italy and came to visit the famous Count before the gates of the city. He found the brown tents of the Arabs innumerable. The simple and saintly man conversed with them; they were impressed by him and his words, but declared that they could not turn Christian if they wished, for the Count was wont to punish severely any of them who abandoned his religion.^{*} In effect it was as Moslems that these hired troops were most valuable to the Count; as such they were absolutely devoted to him, and, ignorant of Papal menace or Latin politics, formed a standing army whose loyalty was beyond every doubt. It was to be the great reproach of Roger and his successors to the fifth generation that they employed these dreaded infidels against their Christian opponents.

In his foreign relations Roger showed himself as little of a Crusader as he did at home. His policy was not one of blundering and bigoted aggression against the Moslem princes his neighbours, but was concerned with commerce, with the corn trade, for instance, between Sicily and his friend the

^{*} Amari, *S. D. M.*, vol. iii., p. 187.

Sultan of Tunis. His attitude, far removed from that of the mere Crusader, is well hit off by a story which is given by an Arab historian.¹ Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, having written to Roger urging him to join in conquering Moslem Africa, Roger replied saying:

If the other Franks should come here, I should have to supply them with armies, and ships for crossing. If they conquered the land and remained there, they would get the trade in the necessities of life out of Sicilian hands into theirs; and I should lose the receipts from the corn trade to them. Suppose their enterprise failed; they must return here; I should then have to expect hostile attacks in return; and trade and friendship between us and Africa would cease. Better to wait until we ourselves are strong enough to conquer Africa.

The government of Roger I. made no distinctions of privilege or civil right between Latins, Moslems, and Greeks, but little as he designed any sudden swamping of the two latter races in the island it was inevitable that the Catholic-Latin element should rapidly increase in numbers and importance after the conquest. The occupation of Sicily was decisive in the steady setback to the Byzantine and Mohammedan influence in the Mediterranean of which the eleventh century saw the beginning. In the island itself the Saracens

¹ Ibn el Athir, in Amari, *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula*, i., p. 541.

He gives the date as 1099, but incorrectly since Baldwin was not crowned till Christmas, 1100.

and Greeks were reinforced by the Norman, French, and Italian fighting men of Roger; in addition the towns and villages received a continual influx of colonists from Italy. It is uncertain if Roger founded such Lombard communes as those of Nicosia and Caltagirone which are found flourishing in the twelfth century, at least whatever Catholic population he found must now have been greatly reinforced, and Italians of mixed Apulian, Ligurian, Venetian, and North-Lombard blood began to flock in, and outbalance the Orthodox and Mohammedan populations.

The Papal Curia was bound to look with friendly eyes on the Count of Sicily, whose conquest and organisation of the island was itself a crusade of the highest importance. In any case it could not, occupied as it was with the long Investiture struggle, successfully oppose the one Norman chief who still counted for much, who was the strongest man in all Italy. It was one of the considerations which had led the Curia to legalise the Norman conquest that the newcomers were likely to reduce the lower half of the peninsula to Roman claims and Cluniac ideals, and now, as Guiscard had recovered Apulia for the Papacy and the new principles, so Roger of Sicily recovered that island for Rome. He found a Greek archbishop presiding over the see of Palermo in 1072, and replaced him by a Latin metropolitan. The island was before long divided into Latin sees and Roger created new bishoprics at Troina, Catania, Syracuse, Girgenti,

and Mazzara. But it was not so pleasing to the Holy See that Roger showed so great a determination to be master of the Insular Latin Church as he was of the Greek bishops and the Moslem congregations. His Catholic bishops received their appointment from him and the Latin Church of Sicily had the aspect of a State Church dependent on the Count. But, like his contemporary, William the Conqueror, Roger was willing to strike a bargain with the Papal See by which the principles of the Cluniac reformers were admitted into his realm at the same time that the princely power itself was exalted. This is the significance of a Concordat agreed to by Roger and Urban in July, 1098. On the one hand the Count guaranteed to his bishops and clergy that they should receive judgment for all offences by canon law, and before spiritual judges. On the other a Papal Bull conferred upon the Count the Apostolic Legateship of the island; by securing the same privilege to his heirs the Papal Curia gave a fresh sanction to the hereditary power of the Hautevilles. The Bull conceded so great a departure from Cluniac principles because of the special services of the Count in recovering Sicily from the Moslems.

As we promised, so now we confirm . . . that, as long as you and your son or any other who shall lawfully succeed to your inheritance shall live, we will not appoint a Legate of the Roman Church against your will and counsel, but will rather see what we can

achieve by your zeal instead of by a Legate, whenever we, on our part, send to you for the benefit of the holy churches which are under your dominion.¹

Thus invested with the powers of a Legate in Sicily and Calabria, Roger was the more able to deal with the problem of mixed races and religions which confronted him. Master of the Greek churches and of the Moslem communities, he subjected also the Latin Church, mapping out new dioceses and appointing bishops with little regard to protests from the Roman Curia that such powers had not been granted him.

With the first Count of Sicily appeared a spirit in politics new to the Middle Ages. Roger, first among mediæval princes, recognised and gave full play to the varying creeds, races, and languages in a single realm; his statesmanship allowed the free expansion of the culture of Latins, Moslems, and Greeks, who were equally tolerated, and equally subjected to the central power. In a Europe given up to feudal privilege, and agitated by the theocratic claims of the Papalists, he became master, without an effort, of the barons, and exacted the obedience of the Greek and Latin

¹ The Latin of Malaterra, bk. iv., c. 29, contains some difficulties, but E. Caspar ("*Legatengewalt der normannisch-sicilischen Herrscher*" in *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienische Archiven*, vol. vii., 1904, p. 197) derives the above meaning from it. This Bull created the famous "Sicilian Monarchy." In the mosaic portrait of Roger II. in La Martorana, Palermo, the King is seen wearing the insignia of a Legate.

churches, of his realm. It was not without justice that in his latter years he assumed to himself the title "Great Count of Sicily." The last of the sons of Tancred died on June 22, 1101, in his seventieth year, and was buried in Santa Trinitá at Mileto, a little town on the Calabrian coast near Reggio, which, from the days when Guiscard and he expelled the Greeks from Calabria, had contested with Messina and Troina the claim to be his capital.

The "Great Count" was thrice married, first to the Norman Judith of Evreux, secondly to Eremburg of Mortmain, thirdly (in 1089) to Adelaide, daughter of the Marquis Manfred and niece of Boniface del Vasto, lord of Savona. The latter bore to him two sons, Simon, born 1093, and Roger, born December 22, 1095. Of the previous marriages were born two elder sons, Geoffrey and Mauger, but their fate is obscure; the former at least retired to a monastery to hide a gruesome disease; both apparently died before their father, or at least made no claim to succeed him. There was a bastard son also, Jordan, a gallant soldier, who died of fever in 1093. Numerous daughters were the result of the three marriages; among these one alone is notable, namely that Matilda who later married Rainulf of Avellino, the young Roger's deadliest opponent.

The Bull conferring the Apostolic Legateship on Roger I. had named Simon as his heir. The succession of the eight-year-old boy was quietly

secured by the firm will of his mother Adelaide, a clever and ambitious woman. It was no easy task for a woman to hold together the fabric of power which the Great Count had carefully built up, and maintain the skilful and delicate balance between creeds and races which was its foundation. The feudal vassals, swollen with the pride of their caste and full of orthodox contempt for both Greeks and Moslems, were the greatest danger to government and to toleration. The years of Adelaide's regency are obscure to a degree but it is clear that attempts were made by the barons to secure in the state a predominance which Roger I. had denied them. In later years Roger II. was reminded how, in his boyhood, the barons of Sicily and Calabria had joined hands in revolt, and after great bloodshed his mother had driven the enemy before her like potter's dust.¹ What such an *émeute* portended is unknown, but the Regent at least held the reins of authority with a firm hand, and at last handed over to her second son the undiminished authority of his father.

Her success in keeping the balance of government was due to her confidence in the Greek and Arab elements. While Roger I. had remained to the end a Norman soldier keeping simple state in Mileto or Troina, she transferred the capital first to Messina and then to Palermo. In 1105 the

¹ This was in 1123, in a petition from the people of Castel Focero for the rebuilding of their castle; v. Caspar, *Roger II. u. die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie*, p. 28.

court began the practice of residence in the old palace of the emirs amid the Moslem population of Palermo. For some years yet, however, Messina remained the seat of government at least equally with Palermo.

The transference of the capital was made on the death of Simon, who died September 28, 1105, while yet a boy of twelve, and left his brother heir to Sicily under Adelaide's regency. The influences that surrounded Roger's boyhood and shaped his whole intellect and character came from the Moslem and Greek secretaries, eunuchs, servants, and officials who filled the court at Messina or Palermo, and the cosmopolitan populace of those cities. He grew up to regard the Greek and the Moslem as his friends, and the Norman feudatories as his enemies. Even Roger I. had caught something of the mixed civilisation of the races whom he ruled for thirty years; in his son, half Italian as he was, the Norman simplicity, the rural tastes, and the delight in battle of the northern races disappeared; in their place the young Roger was made familiar with the flattery and ceremony of a half-Oriental court, with the calculated cruelty of the southern races, and with the luxury of the richest land in Europe. He learned the subtle craft of the long-civilised races, and his mind was fashioned to a tolerance which was as much the result of temperament as of policy. Of the Norman stock of Tancred he retained neither the blonde type, the physical courage, nor the

generous instincts; but in manhood his frame was tall and powerful, and his voice loud and commanding, while his tenacity and determination of character whether in peace or war marked him as a true scion of the Hautevilles.

An obscurity hangs over the early years of the future King which allows us to know little of his history until he has almost reached full manhood. The interest of the Hauteville historians was fixed rather upon Salerno and Antioch. At least a name venerable among the saints of the medieval Church is associated with his baptism. Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian order, came to Italy, soon after the founding of the Grande Chartreuse, and, tired of the world, resolved with a few companions to retire into the depths of the Calabrian mountains, an ideal refuge of hermits. A charter of the Great Count in May, 1093, granted him a sanctuary near Stilo, and again, in August, the two Rogers granted him the monastery of Santa Maria and the hermitage of Della Torre near Squillace. The Count later besought the blessing of the venerable monk on his new-born son and at the end of 1096 Bruno baptised the young Roger with water and oil at the Church of Mileto.¹

Of Roger's first twenty years we gain little from the historians. His eulogist, Alexander of Telese, in order to show how early the spirit of mastery and justice was dominant in the future King tells

¹ Huillard-Bréholles, *Recherches sur les monuments . . . des Normands*, i., p. 14.

how Roger and Simon were playing one day some game with money in which Roger won. In scorn of a brother who could allow himself to be beaten, he said to Simon: "It is more fitting that I should obtain the lordship after our father's death than you. So when I have obtained it, I will make of you a Bishop or even a Pope, for that suits you better." Thus early did Roger display the spirit of a supplanter.¹

Apart from the scanty historians, the deeds and charters of these early years throw a secondary light on the doings of the young Roger. From 1107 onwards he attests various acts along with his mother, in Sicily and Calabria; we may conclude that the sovereignty of Roger I. remained unshaken and his dominions untroubled by war, also that the young Roger and the Regent remained as faithful as he to the policy of toleration and the adjustment of the races; most of these donations are made to Greek monasteries.

The real drama of the Hauteville house was being played in Apulia, where Guiscard's duchy was going to pieces, and in the Holy Land, whither Bohemund had betaken himself.

In Antioch Guiscard's son was pressed hard, not only by the Moslem emirs, but also by the Greek Emperor, who strove to enforce his claims to suzerainty over the principality. He found it necessary at last to leave Antioch to the care of Tancred and

¹ Alex. of Telesse, anno 1105, bk. i., c. 2, in Del R , *Cronisti e scrittori napoletani*, i.

seek aid in the West. By October, 1107, he had collected on Apulian soil an army of 34,000 men, partly from France—whose King, Philip I., was the father of his wife Constance—and including even some English. Abandoning his original scheme of taking these reinforcements to Antioch, he landed on the Greek coast and began the siege of Durazzo as a preliminary to marching on Salonica and Constantinople. This bold stroke was that of Guiscard over again, if it proved less formidable to the Byzantines. Bohemund's declaration of war upon the Emperor was a proud boast true to the old Norman spirit: "I will fill all your cities and lands with blood and slaughter until I strike my lance in Byzantium itself." The answer of Alexius confronted with this second Guiscard had a certain dignity and sang-froid worthy of a more civilised race; among a staff dumb with fear, he stooped down to loosen the latchet of his shoe, saying, "Let us dine now; we will see about this Bohemund afterwards."¹

The end of the enterprise was for Bohemund inglorious; in the spring of 1108, he himself was blockaded by sea and land and was forced to seek peace at Deapolis. Alexius granted to him the county of Antioch but only as liegeman of the Greek Empire; in addition he was to restore all that had belonged to the Emperors of old on the Syrian frontier.

The treaty, however, remained a dead letter.

¹ Anna Comnena, *op. cit.*, p. 126 *seq.*

Tancred became Prince of Antioch. Bohemund himself, still meditating a further attack on the Empire, survived only a few years in his former fief of Taranto and died in 1111 A.D., after a life full of gallant deeds and picturesque achievements, but scarcely crowned with the substantial fortune which his personal valour and energy deserved.

The character of Bohemund, the last of the Norman heroes of Apulia, and the wonder mingled with fear with which the civilised southern peoples looked upon the Normans as a race, are best conveyed in the pages of one of the most interesting women of the Middle Ages. Anna Comnena was daughter of the Emperor Alexius; born in 1083, she bore the proud title *Porphyrogenita*—"born in the purple." In the year 1100 she was already a widow; her husband Nicephorus Bryennius had died, leaving her the memory of a brave soldier, and an unfinished historical work. In 1143, the aged princess took it in hand to write the achievements of her father and to complete her husband's memoirs in a historical work which she called the *Alexiad*.

Of her merits as a historian it is unnecessary to speak. For our purpose she is most valuable as having seen and described the Normans while yet they displayed all the great qualities of their race, their physical strength and tall stature, their instinct for war, and their restless enterprise, before they became merged in the North-French or the Italians of the South. At Durazzo she

perhaps saw, at least she describes picturesquely the contrast of the Gallicised Normans whom Bohemund led forward and the English and Scandinavian Varangers—*oriundi ex Thule insula*—who faced one another in the decisive combats of mail-clad horse and axe-wielding foot such as had been seen at Hastings. The Normans are seen arrayed in the arms with which they conquered England and Apulia, the horse, the lance, the hauberk of woven rings able to withstand the shower of arrows and casting spears, the kite-shaped shield with its rounded top and brazen boss. As she gives the best personal picture of Guiscard, so she describes at length the impression made by his son when Bohemund entered the presence of Alexius at Deapolis, the stir in the court, the contrast which she admits between the tall Norman and her own father, who “had no dignity except when he was on his throne.”¹

He was such a man as, to put it in a few words, the Roman Empire never saw the like of at that time, either Greek or barbarian. For he was a wonderful sight to behold, and his fame excelled that of all others.

He was so tall in stature that he stood above the tallest men by nearly a cubit; he was thin in loin and flank; broad-shouldered and full-chested, muscular in every limb, and neither lean nor corpulent, but excellently proportioned and formed so to speak by

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 224, *Script. Byz. Hist.* (Bonn).

the measure of Polyclitus. His hands were full of action, his step firm, his head well enough set, but if you looked close you saw that he seemed to lean forward a little, not because the bones of his neck or dorsal column were injured, but, as seems probable, because from infancy he had been in the habit of stooping a little. In face, his complexion was a mixture of both ruddy and white; the rest of his body very white. His hair was blond yellow, and did not, after the fashion of the other barbarians, flow down loosely to his shoulders; he had rejected so extraordinary a practice, and his hair was closely cut even to his ears. Whether his beard was red or not I cannot say; in fact, his beard had been cut with a razor so carefully that the surface appeared smoother than gypsum; and yet I should fancy that the hair before it was removed was reddish. His blue-grey eyes showed great force both of anger and dignity; nose and nostrils gave full vent to his free soul; he aided his nostrils with his chest; and the broad breast again with his nostrils. The whole appearance of this man breathed out something courteous and sweet; but that was now overlaid by the terrible situation in which he found himself.

The same year that saw the career of Bohemund come to an end saw the death of his half-brother the Duke of Apulia (22d February, 1111 A.D.).

Roger Borsa was the weak son of a heroic father, with a task too great for his unwarlike and simple spirit. He was, says Romuald of Salerno,¹

¹ Romuald of Salerno, anno 1111. Del R , *Scrittori napoletani*, vol. i.

"handsome of body, famous for his virtues, in fame not undistinguished, courteous, pleasant, a protector of the Churches, humble towards the priests of God, and very reverent towards clerics." It is the laudation of a cleric, and stamps the reputation of the second Duke of Apulia as that of a man of little authority and action.

Duke Roger was succeeded by his son William, the last direct male descendant of Guiscard in the duchy. In character the third Duke of Apulia was in no way superior to his father, and the inheritance of the Hautevilles in Italy continued steadily to fall to pieces. Amalfi was from 1107 autonomous; and the Emperor Alexius was able as suzerain to summon its Duke Marinus to serve against Bohemund. The old capital of Apulia shook off the claims of both Bohemund II. and William, and in 1118 Grimoald is found Prince of Bari in friendly alliance with Venice. The feudatories pursued the same course. In the Abruzzi Robert of Loritello, son of Geoffrey Hauteville, renounced the overlordship of Apulia. The whole territory between Pescara and Biferno was in his hands and he subdued the country up to Frentano. The counts of Ariano, Avellino, and Montescaglioso treated the ducal power with contempt. Nor was the old struggle between Bohemund and the ducal power ended; Bohemund II. succeeded to the whole principedom of Taranto, and remained in Italy till 1126, when he relieved the situation by departing finally for Antioch, to spend the

rest of his days in the county which he inherited there.

The whole of the Hauteville conquests in Italy therefore seemed destined to form several states out of the one which the strong hand of Guiscard had created. In the Abruzzi, in Sicily, in Taranto the cousins of the Hauteville dynasty respected the Duke of Apulia neither as overlord nor as head of the race. The Count of Sicily was now the strongest of them, both because of his youth and his innate vigour; he must already have foreseen that the Hauteville conquests would break into fragments until a single strong hand could unite them again in one. If the duchy of Apulia fell to pieces, his own dominion in Sicily, secure as it seemed, would be endangered.

In 1112 the young Roger came to manhood and assumed the government. In the early summer of that year he was knighted; he signed soon after a grant of privilege to the Archbishop of Palermo as *Rogerus jam miles jam comes*. Palermo now became his capital; the choice was in accordance with his preference for Moslems and Greeks.

The Crusades had already made Sicily with its vigorous counts and central position a power to be considered by the crusading princes of the West and of Palestine. Circumstances seemed likely to make the connection a dynastic one. Towards the end of 1112, Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, poor and needy, sought the hand of Adelaide; he first repudiated his former wife and kept the fact hidden

from the dowager Countess of Sicily. Adelaide accepted Baldwin's suit, but made him first promise that if there were no issue of their marriage Roger should succeed to the kingdom of Jerusalem. In August, 1113, she sailed with large supplies of gold for Baldwin, and her fleet, entering into Ptolemais, was one of nine ships, "gleaming with gold and silver and precious stones and purple sails, the masts being decked in pure gold which shone far in the sun."

In May, 1117, however, Adelaide returned to Sicily. Baldwin, having spent the treasure and finding no hope of a son, had, with the ready aid of Rome, divorced her. Within a year, she was dead and entombed at Patti, to which she had retired with her shame. Roger never forgave the blow to his pride, nor ceased to remember that Jerusalem might have been his. William of Tyre, the great historian of the crusading colonies of the East, shows the resentment of Roger.

When she came back, her son was moved to the depths and took deadly hate against the kingdom of Jerusalem. And whereas other princes of Christendom have striven to nourish our realm as a young plant, he and his successors to this day have never given us peace or a friendly word.¹

It was Pascal II. who had divorced his mother, and from the first his attitude towards the Papacy

¹ *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*, i., i., ii., bk. xi., caps. xxi and xxix. (*Historiens occidentaux*).

was that of a stubborn and grasping prince, resolved to be lord of his own. In 1114, as lord of Calabria, he deposed an Archbishop of Cosenza. This drew a letter from the Pope in October, 1117, who complained of clerics being tried by lay judges and bishops being summoned to synods by pretence of the Legatine power; he therefore limited the lay legateship of Sicily conferred on Roger I. Pascal declared that the Count must put into execution the commissions of the Legate *a latere* who might be sent by the Curia. This implied the sending of a Legate, and the letter also laid it down that a layman could not summon bishops to a synod.

We have conceded to thee, as successor to the Count Roger, the power of a Legate, on this condition however that when a *Legatus a latere* is sent by us to your dominions, and intended to serve as our deputy, the matters with which he is charged shall be put into effect by your zeal.¹

The beginnings of Roger's dealings with Rome were an augury of the strained relations of the whole reign. From the first he was suspect for his toleration of Moslems, and his encouragement and organisation of the Greek churches. The Roman Curia saw the potential danger of the union of Sicily and Southern Italy; its policy was to maintain the separation of Sicily from the mainland, and prevent the duchy of Apulia becoming

¹ See Caspar, *Die Legatengewalt*, op. cit., p. 200.

too strong to remember its obligations towards the Papal suzerain. Therefore the more the vigorous Roger set himself to realise Guiscard's hope of a union of all the Norman conquests in one hand, the more the Papacy took up the cause of the much harassed William of Apulia, a Jacob who must be supported against the Esau of Sicily.

The earliest and the latest conquests of Roger II. were made at the expense of the Moslem powers of Africa. Guiscard had already made the Normans in Italy a maritime power; his nephew organised fleets which made possible an aggressive foreign policy and more than contested at the end of his reign the mastery of the Mediterranean with Tunis, Egypt, the Italian sea-towns, and the Greeks.

There had already entered his service two men whose genius in the handling of fleets, and the direction of naval enterprise, were to make him master of the African coast, and the dictator of the adjacent seas. These were George of Antioch and Christodulus. Both were Greeks; the latter, though the Arabic writers call him Abd-er-rahman, the equivalent in Arabic of the name Christodulus, to which they add *en-Nasrani* (the Christian), seems to have been a Greek Christian of Sicily. The former, George of Antioch, is of greater fame as the first of a succession of sea-captains who stood staunchly by the Norman monarchy to the very moment when the gates of Palermo were opened to the conquering Henry VI. George was

the son of a certain Michael and Theodula of Antioch. Both he and his father served for some years Temim the Zirid prince of Al Mahdia, under whom the young George was charged with the administration of the finances, in which office he became familiar with the Arabic tongue, the sea-ports of the whole African coast, and the internal weakness of the Moslem states. In 1108, Temim died; George was not sure of the favour of his successor, Yahya, and betook himself in 1112 to Sicily, where he was favourably received by the court. From that moment he became a devoted servant of Roger and a deadly and relentless enemy of the African princes.¹

The raising of a fleet from the maritime towns was entrusted to the two Greeks; a title was found for them from the old sea-emirs of the Moslem governments and they exercised naval command as *ammirati* or admirals.

An energetic policy was forced upon Roger; it was necessary to protect the growing trade of Sicily with the South Mediterranean countries, to put down the Moslem corsairs, who made the sea unsafe for pilgrims and merchants, and to repulse such raids as, in 1113, the ships of Al Mahdia had made upon Salerno and Naples. The internecine wars of the North African states gave him his chance. The Zirid princes of Tunis, formerly so powerful, had been driven out of their former

¹ For these two admirals see Cohn, *Die Geschichte der normanisch-sicilischen Flotte* (1910), pp. 98-100.



BRIDGE OF THE ADMIRAL, PALERMO

PHOTO BY BROGI

capital of Kairouan by the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt. On the other side, their territory was reduced by the growth of the Hammadite kingdom of the Berbers whose headquarters were fixed in Bugia. The Ziridites were forced, therefore, to find a new capital at Al Mahdia. They were innocent of offence towards Roger himself, but in 1118 the Count took up the cause of a *Wali* of Gabès whom the Zirid prince Ali (1116–1121) chastised for usurping sovereign rights. In April, 1118, a Norman fleet of twenty-four vessels sailed into Gabès but the troops who were landed were attacked suddenly and forced to regain the ships. The war was prolonged for three years, when the death of Ali leaving as his heir Hasan, a boy of twelve, raised the prospects of a final blow at Al Mahdia. At the end of June, 1123, the two admirals sailed from Marsala with 300 ships carrying 30,000 men. They landed on July 21st on the coast ten miles from Al Mahdia, and seized a castle called Ad Dimas which commanded their position. But the Vizir—the eunuch Sandal—and the young Hasan roused their people to a Holy War, and two days later made a night march upon Ad Dimas, drove the troops in a disgraceful panic to the ships, and isolated the garrison of Ad Dimas. The fleet in vain cruised along the coast in an effort to relieve their abandoned compatriots, but bad weather and the diligence of the Moslems prevented them, and on August 10th, the Norman garrison, reduced to the last crust,

sallied out of the castle and perished to a man. The armament set sail for Sicily in a storm from which only one hundred of the vessels arrived in port.

The disaster of Al Mahdia, the unfortunate prelude of his African empire, remained a bitter memory at Roger's court until the great victory of 1148 retrieved it: it crowned the young Hasan with glory and won him the panegyrics of historians and poets in the whole Moslem world.¹

More immediate affairs drew Roger away from African conquest; his admirals continued to engage the African states in a desultory war, but both his military and naval resources were needed elsewhere. The succession to Apulia, whose Duke was childless, must soon be decided.

Roger was technically the liegeman of the Duke; actually the aid of the Count of Sicily was all that stood between William and the dissolution of his dominions. The Duke's vassals were uncontrollable and the pass to which Guiscard's grandson was brought by a single rebel is illustrated by Falco of Benevento. He tells that in 1122 Duke William came to Roger of Sicily begging for help

¹ Ibn-el-Athir, *B.A.S.*, t. i., p. 454-5: "God . . . sent the enemy a storm which brought them all to destruction . . . the cold waves . . . slew them without need of the blue lance-heads or the white blades of sabres." Ibn-Hamdis wrote a song of triumph: "O son of Ali, young lion in the Holy Garden of the Faith to whom the lances are a living hedge . . . woe to the blue-eyed Franks—they shall receive no kiss from thy lips" (*B.A.S.*, t. ii., p. 379).

against Jordan, Count of Ariano, and said to him, with tears:

I have come to ask your aid, most famous count, on account of our kinship and your wealth and power. For not long ago when I had entered the city of Nusco behold there came that Count Jordan with a band of knights before the gates and loaded me with insults and threats, saying, "I will cut your cloak short for you" (*ego mantellum tuum curtabo*); after which he plundered all the city. I could not then prevail against him, and so endured it unwillingly, and swore a day of vengeance.

Roger answered the appeal of his cousin by giving him six hundred knights and fifty ounces of gold, in return for which he bestowed on the Count the half of Palermo and Messina, and what remained to him of Calabria. The Duke was therefore able to act so vigorously against Jordan as to bring him before long a suppliant at his feet. In the constant wars against feudal anarchy Roger remains William's one resource; the Count of Sicily seemed to act as if he were assured of the succession of Apulia.

On July 25, 1127, Duke William died, only thirty years old, leaving no child by his wife Gaitelgrima. Whether his ill-success had been due to inevitable circumstances or his own weakness of character, at least the grandson of Guiscard had been beloved of his people. Romuald of Salerno represents him as a gallant enough soldier,

as loved by the common people, but somewhat despised by his military vassals for his mildness and patient temper. probably also for selling himself and his territories to the Count of Sicily.¹

In the year 1127 Duke William died and was buried at Salerno in the tomb of his father, in the Church of St. Matthew the Apostle, which his grandfather, Duke Robert, had built. Duke William was of middle stature, graceful of body, a daring and energetic soldier, experienced in the art of war. He was generous, humble, kind and patient, pious and merciful, much beloved by his own people.

Duke William left neither child, testament, nor open designation of his successor, and the duchy of Apulia-Salerno was left vacant. Unofficially it seems that the dead man had made some attempts to settle the question, but the value attached to these naturally varies with the partisans of Roger and the rival claimants. A great Latin historian of the Holy Land asserts that when Bohemund II. left in 1126, for Syria, he made a contract with Duke William by which, if either died childless, the other or his heirs should succeed him. A Papal partisan declares that the Duke left to the Holy See all that he possessed. The two native historians of Roger's reign declare or imply that William during a sojourn at Messina left the succession to the Count of Sicily for a sum of money.²

¹ Romuald, *op cit.*, anno 1126 (*recte* 1127).

² The historians referred to are William of Tyre; Walter,

Actually the question was bound to be settled by the strong hand and in his own favour by the claimant who was on the spot. Roger was indeed no nearer in blood to William than the scattered and numerous Hautevilles of Apulia and Antioch, but he was the strongest, the master already of a half of all that had owned the suzerainty of Guiscard. His support of his kinsman had been unwavering, if interested, and he had doubtless looked to the final reward of the succession after him.

Morally, the succession of Roger was to be justified by history; after thirteen years of war, in which his claim was countered by every possible opposition and asserted with a pitiless and iron hand, he gave Lower Italy a peace, a security, a government, such as only Guiscard had attempted before him. When Duke William died the Norman dominion had sunk to its nadir, the conquest seemed about to end in general disintegration and anarchy; the lack of government and order, the insufficiency of the central power which had been features of the old Lombard days were being reproduced with the additional burden of a numerous and warlike Norman baronage, who maintained

Archdeacon of Thérouanne; Romuald of Salerno, and Alexander of Telesse. The question is summed up by Chalandon, *op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 380-382, who concludes that William made a vague promise to Roger not confirmed in writing, and that Walter of Thérouanne's statement is baseless since the Papacy with all its claims to Southern Italy never put forward the alleged donation of William.

both against their overlord and their subjects all the insolent pride, the cruelty, the untamable temper of their race. One of the historians of Roger's reign justifies him by a picture of the confusion then reigning in Lower Italy which is probably not exaggerated¹:

The ducal towns like Salerno, Troia, Melfi, Venosa, deprived of their lord and duke, this man or that with tyrant force wrenched away for himself. Every one did what pleased him, for no one made any protest. No one was afraid of being punished in this life, and so, one after the other, they gave their unbridled lust to evil deeds. Travellers were kept perpetually in the greatest misery; even the peasants did not feel safe if they ventured outside their own fields. In short if God had not kept alive a sprig of the stem of Guiscard who quickly seized the reins of the ducal power, the whole land had perished in accursed abomination of inhuman cruelty.

It was Roger's aim from the first to unite all the Norman acquisitions of the past century into a single state. For that purpose, he gradually pushed home every claim which had any shadow of right in it. To Sicily and Calabria, he now added Apulia-Salerno, with the latter duchy he acquired its claims on Amalfi, Bari, and every dependency, whether now subject or free. He assumed that adventurers who had carried the frontier of conquest to the Pescara and Chieti had

¹ Al. Tel., bk. i., ch. i.

gone in the name of Guiscard; as Duke of Apulia he claimed the suzerainty of the conquests of Robert of Loritello. Again, Capua had been since 1098 a vassalage of Apulia; with the overlordship of Capua went Gaëta and its coastline, and even an ill-founded superiority over Naples. Jordan of Capua too had carried his banner far into the marches of Camerino and Fermo; his conquests now fell to Roger as suzerain of Capua, and all the far-outlying acquisitions of Norman freebooters on the Tronto and the Lago di Fucino became in time the boundary of the Regno. As if to fortify himself against the moment of succession Roger had also sought allies in Italy; in May, 1128, he concluded a treaty with Savona by which that city pledged itself to put one galley for forty days at his disposal; with Genoa he renewed in the same year an agreement made in 1116, by which the Genoese were conceded free trade in his dominions in return for a payment of money.

As yet only the most prompt measures could secure him the duchy itself. On the news of William's death he sailed with seven ships from Sicily, and appeared in the harbour of Salerno. The people of the city were divided into a Lombard party of independence and a Norman party led by the Archbishop Romuald. The Count called the leading citizens on board his ship, and with flattering address and great moderation reminded "the lords of Salerno his brothers" how he was of the right blood of their ducal house;

and asked that they should accept him as their loving lord.¹ They consented after ten days on terms which left them considerable autonomy: that the Count should neither imprison the citizens nor let them be imprisoned without due trial, that he should not demand military service from them at more than two days' march from the city, and that the ancient castle should be left in their hands. This gave Roger an entry into the city, which henceforth became his mainland capital. He gained a second triumph when Amalfi admitted his overlordship on terms which left the citizens the garrisoning of their own walls and fortresses. Next the feudatories began to think of submission, and Rainulf, Count of Avellino, submitted on condition that the county of Ariano should transfer its homage to him. Rainulf was brother-in-law of Roger; he was destined to be his most dangerous foe, a leader around whom rallied again and again the forces of feudalism and local independence in Lower Italy. The Count of Avellino was not only a man of great character and military skill, but he was also of the senior line of the house of Aversa and Capua and heir to one of the greatest of the fiefs; later he became the real antagonist in the death struggle between the old rivals of Hauteville and Aversa.²

In the interval the Pope had made up his mind on the great question raised by the death of the

¹ Falco of Benevento, anno 1127, *Del Rè*, vol. i.

² See genealogy of house of Capua-Aversa at end of this volume.

Duke. Roger was no *persona grata* at Rome and showed none of the tractable nature of the dead William. At all times the union of all the Hauteville lands would have caused apprehension, and now the prospect presented itself of the vigorous and self-willed Sicilian forming in the south a kingdom without the name. Against the union of half of Italy, Rome was sure to fight, for such was the Papal tradition. To the Curia the Normans had been desirable as a sword which could always be drawn at need against the Emperor or the local despots. Such a purpose, the hope of Melfi and Ceprano, was best to be maintained by a balance of the chief Norman states, the Papacy holding the scales between Capua, Apulia, and Sicily, the communal spirit being encouraged as a set-off to the feudal, and the feudal class itself supplying the fighting men of the Papal service. Honorius II. constituted himself the champion of feudal privilege and local liberty in the whole land south of the Garigliano. In the late summer of 1127, the Pope came south to Benevento, where a pro-Norman party contested a communal party; there he forbade Roger under pain of interdict to assume the title of Duke of Apulia. The Count marched thither, but could neither secure an interview with Honorius nor win him over by means of envoys.

With the decision that Richard and Humfrey had shown before Civitate, Roger next resolved on war with the Papacy. His advance-guard

harassed the outskirts of Benevento and kept the Pontiff shut up there until October, 1127; he himself subjected the whole contado of the city and turning eastwards crossed the mountains with an army, in which George of Antioch and Christodulus held commands, and forced the submission of Melfi, Troia, and Montescaglioso. At the beginning of winter he withdrew to Sicily.

The Pope, in spite of these events, prepared to overwhelm Roger by a coalition. Leaving Benevento he crossed over the Apennines and entered Troia, which he easily won over by the practical grant of a commune. There (November 11, 1127) he gave the Apostolic blessing to a league which opposed to the self-styled Duke of Apulia the feudal and civic liberties of Apulia. Grimoald, Prince of Bari, Roger of Ariano, Rainulf of Avelino, Tancred of Conversano, grandson of a sister of Guiscard, who styled himself vassal of the Basileus, Geoffrey or Godfrey of Andria, a descendant of one of the earliest Norman chiefs, were the great names of the league.

From Troia, Honorius returned to Benevento and from there to Capua where he spent Christmas. On December 30th he consecrated and invested as Prince of Capua, Robert II., whose father Jordan II. had died eleven days before. After the ceremony Honorius launched a final excommunication against Roger; a veritable crusade was declared against him with absolution for all who should fall in the holy cause.

Thus the Papacy set up Capua against Sicily and Robert's accession to the Papal league made its cause seem greater than that of mere local resistance. But the Prince of Capua was a man of straw to pit against such a rival as the Sicilian; he was of delicate constitution, unable to endure hardship or toil, and unfitted for war.¹

The campaign opened in the early months of 1128. Roger himself had not collected his full forces until the end of May, when he crossed from Messina with a large army of Norman horse and Arab foot, and rapidly subdued the Basilicata and Lucania. Traversing the coast he forced Taranto, Brindisi, and Otranto to surrender; this was the land which Bohemund II. had left to Alexander and Tancred of Conversano; its conquest made him master of all the land south of a line from Salerno to Brindisi.

The Count now halted with his army on the banks of the Bradano, at a crossing called "the Stony Ford," and awaited the confederates, who were marching from the region of Bari. A battle was not to his mind, he trusted rather to the murderous summer heat of the plains to destroy the Papal army without a single sword being drawn. Honorius and Robert reached the river, and for forty days the two armies faced one another while Roger prolonged with negotiations a situation which was all in his favour. The July sun

¹ Falco, anno 1128: "Princeps . . . delicati corporis erat et laborem sustinere non poterat."

and a shortage of provisions began to have their effect on the confederates; Robert of Capua fell ill, and the feudal levies began to complain at duration of service. Meanwhile, apparently, the Roger with part of his troops escaped the deadly heat by retiring into the adjacent mountains.¹

His object was at last attained. While Robert began to contemplate abandoning the army, and the knights were reduced to a common destitution with the men-at-arms, the Pope gave way and despatched a secret message to Roger that if he would come to Benevento and take the oath of homage there he should be invested in the duchy. The host then broke up unmolested by Roger; and the first of many coalitions against him collapsed suddenly and shamefully.²

The failure of the alliance was seen at Benevento. In August, Roger arrived outside the city and camped on the hill of St. Felice. The negotiations covered two days and ended in Roger's taking an oath never to consent to any proceedings by which Benevento should be lost to St. Peter and never personally to attack nor allow any attack upon Capua and its principedom. At sunset on August 23, 1128, on the bridge over the Sabato, he was invested with a banner as Duke of Apulia in the presence of twenty thousand men.

Roger had triumphed all along the line. The

¹ Falco, anno 1128: "In montana secessit."

² Al. Tel., bk. i., chap. xiv., "with shame returned the Apulian heroes home."

Papal *volte-face* would be inexplicable did we not know how, before Honorius, Nicholas and Gregory had receded from a position as strong with as sudden a reversal of policy, and ended by blessing those whom they had put to the Ban. The disaster of the Bradano convinced Honorius that Roger's position was not to be easily shaken; and he reconciled himself to a Duke who promised to save Lower Italy from anarchy, salving his conscience with the provision concerning Capua.

But though he had given the final sanction to Roger's new title, he could not bind the confederates whom he had abandoned and delivered over to the enemy. The Prince of Bari, Rainulf, the family of Conversano, and some of the Apulian towns made a last great effort to throw the new Duke before he could secure his seat. From Otranto to Monte Gargano all Apulia was in arms; and in the spring of 1129, the Duke had to take the field with an army of nine thousand men. Brindisi, commanded by Geoffrey of Conversano, stood and successfully endured a desperate siege (June). But the Duke forced into surrender Montalto, Ruvo, and many towns as far as Siponto. The feudal levy now began to murmur at a duration of war, which was beginning to exceed the usual period of forty days. Roger's stern handling of mutineers is shown in the example he made of Robert of Grantmesnil, one of the murmurers.

The story is told by Alexander of Telese:

While Roger was besieging Montalto, Robert of Grantmesnil presented himself and requested that he might have leave to retire to his own home. "Why do you ask this?" said the Duke. To which he replied, "The reason is that I am worn out by the sorry fare in this expedition, and I cannot endure the toil any longer, for the fief which I am said to have is very small, nor can it support my military expenses any longer. Let it be known then, that if the fief be not increased, I will undertake no longer on your behalf this military duty, but will depart over the Alps to the land of my kinsmen, where I shall live, at all events, without want." To which the Duke replied, "I am unwilling to grant you this, but wait awhile until all Apulia is mine, then I will without doubt fulfil what you ask." But he, after awhile, seeing that what he requested was being put off, was kindled by wrath after his usual fashion and said, "If now what I ask is not given, then no longer will I expect it from thee, nor do I wish to hold even that fief which I now possess, since it is so small." Thereupon he withdrew from the host. After this Roger came to a town called Lagopesole in which he found the abode of the said Robert and there he accused him before all of deserting the host. "God forbid!" said he, "but I went away intending to join my kinsmen in their land beyond the Alps." But the Duke forced him before all to renounce the lands which he now held, since he had said he no longer wanted them. "Take them back," said Robert, "only give me free leave to go away." And so it was; he went away with Roger's leave.

George of Antioch meanwhile appeared with

sixty ships before Bari and blockaded Grimoald in his own capital (June, 1129). The three brothers, Alexander, Geoffrey, and Tancred, with Geoffrey of Andria and the Prince of Bari; were decided by these events to surrender (10th August); they were confirmed in their lands and enlisted in the army which Roger now marched against Troia. Troia, proud of its new commune, but deserted by the Pope who had granted it, stood at bay, and its people besought Robert of Capua who was in North Apulia with the insurgents to come to their aid. The Prince of Capua would not entertain their urgent appeal, whereupon Rainulf who was with him declared with some contempt that he himself would take up the cause of the city, and entered Troia, which accepted him as its lord. On the approach, however, of the Duke, Rainulf came to terms and finally deserted the burghers for a promise that he should hold Troia in fief. The Duke embarked for Sicily (November); he returned in the spring to quench the last ashes of revolt.

The triumph of Roger enabled him to show the world how he meant to govern. Melfi, Troia, Brindisi, and other places were bridled by new castles or had to receive royal garrisons; some little outbreak in Salerno enabled Roger to revoke the former bargain and take over the citadel from the citizens. Grimoald was taken to Sicily and such mutineers as Robert of Grantmesnil sent into exile.

On the other hand Roger held at Melfi in the

September of 1129 a court where amid a numerous throng of bishops and abbots and barons now reconciled he received for himself and his young sons Roger and Tancred the homage of all his tenants-in-chief of Apulia and Salerno; he took the occasion to show that the day of anarchy and decay was over and that of power and law was come. He forbade private war, ordered the barons to surrender criminals to ducal justice, and bade merchants, pilgrims, and travellers to trust in the ducal power to protect them by sea and land. It was no vain flourish; the order that was characteristic of Sicily was now extended to Apulia.

The power of Roger was now without a rival in Lower Italy. The Prince of Capua acknowledged the old suzerainty of Apulia; the *Magister Militum* of Naples, Sergius VII., made a submission which entailed a money tribute or offer of military aid and left him still a vassal of the Basileus¹; Monte Cassino accepted the Duke's protection (December, 1129). The opponents of the new Duke had drawn the sword as lawful belligerents, they sheathed it as his subjects and sworn vassals.

¹ Schipa, *Il ducato di Napoli*, Arch. stor. nap., 1894, p. 445.

CHAPTER III

ROGER AS KING. THE GREAT REVOLT

1130-1134

NOW that the Duke had conquered all the land as far as the borders of Ancona and Rome, his mother's brother, Count Henry, whom above all he loved, began to suggest that he should be honoured with the royal in place of the ducal name, and that Palermo should be made a capital and the seat of kings.¹

Both ambition and policy inclined Roger to such a decisive step as his uncle's counsel suggested. The sanction of a kingship, however gained, would alone give him sufficient authority to bind the scattered states of South Italy together, and to secure him the allegiance of the Church, which, all important as it was to young monarchies such as that of France, could not be expected to recognise a power less than royal. A crown was necessary to his policy of re-uniting the conquests of all the Hautevilles and adding to them the dominions of the house of Aversa; the title of Duke or Count alone would with all its doubtful claims have

¹ Al. Tel., bk. ii., ch. i.

been perpetually contested. But as long as the provisions of Melfi remained, such a step required the co-operation of his suzerain the Pope, and for his designs it seemed a piece of fortune that at this moment Honorius II. died (February, 1130), and a disputed election took place at Rome.

If one candidate for the Papal throne seemed more sure of success than another it was the Cardinal Peter di Leone, Cardinal-priest of St. Mary's in Trastevere. The Reforming party might claim him as one of themselves; his father Leo had been Gregory VII.'s right-hand man in Rome; he himself had studied in France and there attached himself to the Cluniacs; Pascal II. had made him a Cardinal; he had accompanied Gelasius to exile and returned with Calixtus. He was orthodox, versed in affairs of the world, and had been legate in France and Germany. The grandson of a rich banker in Rome, master of a whole fortified quarter around the Church of St. Mark, his wealth and resources gave him a popularity among the poor, the middle classes, and the aristocracy of the city, which was little impaired by the circumstance that his grandparent had turned from the Jewish faith to one more profitable. Most of the nobles were for him, but with the important exceptions of the powerful Frangipani and Corsi. The fact gave the Hildebrandine party serious apprehensions; what if an aristocratic Papacy should arise dominated by Roman families such as was seen in the days of the Crescentii?

The heads of the Curia, the Chancellor Almeric and Cardinal Girard of Bologna, became convinced that by the election of Peter the Papalist victories of a hundred years would be gravely imperilled. Already before the death of Honorius the preliminary choice had been left to eight cardinals among whom was Peter. Acting with the greatest energy Almeric summoned the cardinals of his party on the morning of the Pope's death (14th February), and they, five of the above electors being among them, chose the Cardinal Gregory of San Angelo, giving him the name of Innocent II. On the same day, but later, the remaining cardinals assembled at San Marco and chose Cardinal Peter as Anacletus II. The two Popes were consecrated on March 23d, Innocent in S. Maria Nuova and Anacletus at St. Peter's.

Technically there can be no doubt that Anacletus's election was at least as valid as Innocent's. A majority of the whole college of electors were for the former, if a majority of the initial electors and the most influential cardinals were for his opponent. This made a prolonged civil war in the very heart of the Papacy inevitable. For Anacletus could not in conscience be called either a reactionary or a mere anti-pope. But the party of Innocent were prepared to do violence even to the decree of Nicholas II. to secure a Pope of the most approved Hildebrandine type, and, worsted in Rome, were ready to appeal to the Church at large and the kings and nations of Europe. In

this connection it was perhaps the greatest misfortune to Anacletus that Rome was so thoroughly behind him that even the Frangipani had to come to terms. For Innocent, finding no footing in Rome, must transfer himself to Northern Italy or to France, where he could gain the ear of the whole Church and of the kings and make his cause the cause of Europe at large. He retired to Trastevere, then to Pisa, his native town, accompanied by his electors, while Anacletus, master of Rome, deposed the supporters of his rival and created other cardinals in their places.

There was no doubt as to his commanding position in the Papal city. His great wealth enabled him to bribe the leading families and surround himself with a little army. That the influential orders were for him is shown in letters sent in May to King Lothar by the lower clergy of Rome, urging him to recognise the incontestable right of Anacletus, and by the nobles, who informed him in a lofty tone that so far they had had little reason to love him or to wish for his coronation, but since they knew the love of the Lord Pope towards him they now hung upon him with all their hearts, and were prepared at once to honour the imperial purple.¹

It was now to be seen which way Italy would go. Archbishop Walter of Ravenna and Hubert, Bishop of Lucca, declared against Anacletus, but the Archbishop of Milan, then under the excom-

¹ Giesebrecht, *op. cit.*, vol. iv., p. 59.

munication decreed by Honorius II., declared for him, was absolved, and received from him the Pallium.

Most, however, of the Lombard and North-Italian bishops were found to be for Innocent. Better fortune waited Anacletus south of the Tiber and Tronto. Roger probably saw no reason to suppose the election of Anacletus in any way less canonical than his rival's. If he may be accused of fishing in troubled waters for a crown, it can only be said that out of the struggle of two equally legal Popes he determined to achieve the great objects which dominated him. From one Pope he could secure the title of a king. From the other, should he triumph, he trusted yet to be able to wring as the price of submission the ratification of the new title. The deep statecraft of the Hauteville suggested to him a course of action which in the end led him to the highest triumph. But his support of Anacletus was first destined to involve him in a ten-years' war and bring him within a step of utter destruction.

A hard bargain was driven by the Duke of Apulia, when he undertook to support the cause of the new Pope and subject the clergy of his realm to him, and Anacletus conceded more than he would have done had not a few months of his reign already shown him that the tide was setting against him. On the 27th September, 1130, he issued his Bull which created Roger King of Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia. Rights more or less

definite over Capua, Naples, and Benevento were added.

We bestow upon you the principedom of Capua with all its territories such as the Princes of the Capuans have had it now or in the past, the honour of Naples and whatever belongs to it, and the aid of the men of Benevento against your enemies.¹

Anacletus thus outlined for Roger most of what became later the "Regno." Ecclesiastical no less than temporal independence was to secure the new kingdom. On the same day in which he gave the crown, Anacletus elevated Palermo to the rank of a metropolitan see with Girgenti, Syracuse and Mazzara as its suffragans, an act followed the next year by the elevation of Messina into metropolitan rank. The bishops and abbots of the kingdom were to do homage to Roger. On the other hand the new King was to swear fealty and homage to St. Peter and pay a rent of 600 *schifati*² each year, a bargain which was personally guaranteed in an interview between Anacletus and Roger at Avellino when the latter took, kneeling on his knee, the oath formerly sworn by Guiscard.

The King's triumph seemed complete when on Christmas Day, 1130, Roger was crowned at Palermo. A banquet showed all the splendour of Eastern Courts; servitors clad in silk served the

¹ The words referring to Naples, *honorem quoque Neapolis ejusque pertinentiarum*, imply some loose kind of dependence.

² Byzantine coins of gold.

dishes in vessels of gold and silver; in the procession to the Cathedral the horses wore saddles adorned with gold and bridles of silver and gold; at the altar Cardinal Conti, a nephew of the Pope, anointed Roger, and Robert of Capua as the first vassal of the new realm placed the crown upon his head.¹

It was too easy a triumph, and already it appeared that Roger and Anacletus would soon have to fight desperately, the one for his new crown, the other for his Papal tiara. In that same month Innocent had resolved to leave Pisa and carry the question to the larger stage of Europe. In September he was in Provence and was appealing to the two greatest kings of the West. Whether Roger foresaw it or not, it must follow on his assumption of the royal name that his kingdom should emerge out of the shell of a mere South Italian duchy into the full light of the great European world.

The twelfth century was more than a hundred years in advance of the eleventh. Great factors were at play which had been only then at their

¹Falco, sub anno 1130, and Al. Tel. Roger styles himself throughout his reign *a Deo coronatus* and acknowledges no obligation to the Pope on one side or the barons and people on the other. His intention to take the crown was, however, communicated originally to an assembly of bishops and other vassals after which he convoked an assembly of magnates to Palermo in whose midst he was crowned. The impression is given that the latter gathering was not very representative at least for Apulia and Campania.

See Chalandon, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 613.

birth, and among these factors Southern Italy must take its full part. The mightiest of these was the Universal Church. The Papacy had been lifted out of the slough of internal corruption and of external dependence on the Roman nobles and German kings. It had under Leo IX., Nicholas II., and Gregory VII. claimed effectively the Headship of the whole Church and the dominion over souls. The spirit of Hildebrand was still upon it as strong as ever, demanding undivided allegiance of all clerics and a supremacy over the cure of souls which threatened the temporal powers everywhere, and still ready to assert the superiority of the Church over the State. The monastic orders, especially those of Cluny, Cîteaux, and Prémontré, everywhere were its devoted servants and formed a universal support to its theocratic claims. The common people of the West felt a yet unspoiled devotion towards the Head of the Church. The kingdom of France, which, in politics, was of the future, as the German Empire was of the past, had since the days of Leo IX., been growing into a bulwark for the Popes in their difficulties and was the first asylum to which they turned. In spite of the breach made between Emperor and Pope by the wars of Investiture the Bishop of Rome could still appeal to the German sword to maintain him in power, for still the Church and the Empire were complements of one another in universal belief, and no Teutonic king was Emperor till he had done the "Rome-journey"

and received the imperial crown at the hands of the Pontiff. At the moment Lothar, formerly Duke of Saxony, was King and Augustus in Germany; of pious temper and a friend to Reforming principles, it was certain that he would intervene and with effect in this crisis.

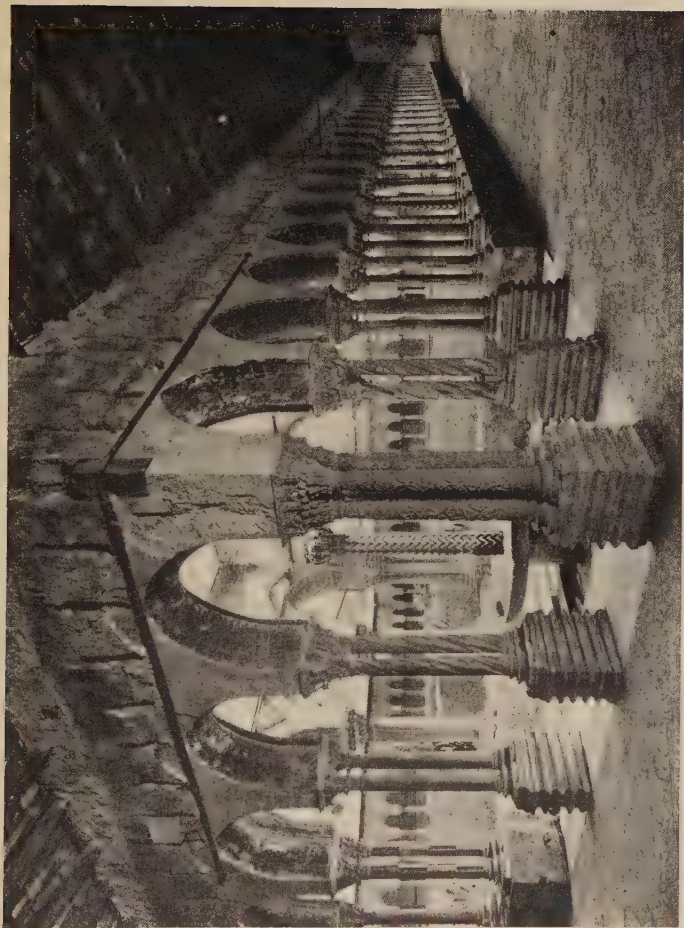
Cluniac principles had behind them all the zeal and enthusiasm that was in the Church. If these were rather in the monastic order and in France than in the secular Church and in Germany, yet everywhere they were animating the most vigorous of the clergy. In Burgundy and France it was almost sufficient to decide the course of events that the venerable Peter, Abbot of Cluny, kept on the side of Papal authority and the Reforming ideas the whole of the houses of his order, and that a greater still, Bernard of Clairvaux, preserved in the same allegiance the whole of the new Cistercian movement. In Germany Wibald of Stablo and Norbert the founder of the Premonstatensian order were for the Reformed Papacy and would sound the note for the German Church in any case involving Cluniac principles that should be brought to its tribunal.

The twelfth century was indeed not without men who protested against the ideas that dominated the Church. The principles of Bernard and of those with most prestige in Latin Christianity embraced not only a theocratic ideal of the Papal power and of Church government which seriously threatened the lay authority by its denial of any

right of kings or rulers to interfere in the rule of souls, a phrase which they gave the widest interpretation, but, in insisting on the doctrine of authority in belief and the exclusive right of the Church in its Head and its Tradition to determine what should be believed, enclosed the exercise of human reason in the narrowest circle. Against the former there rose a few great antagonists. The secular spirit found at least one champion in Arnold of Brescia who taught that the Church should be subject to the State, and advocated the reduction of the Church in its head and members to apostolic poverty. Such a spirit was aided by the revival of Roman law, taught by Irnerius at Bologna, which with its lucidity and completeness could not fail to win devotees, as it could not fail to be favoured by emperors and kings, whose power as against the Canon Laws it was calculated to exalt.

Against the latter conception was found Arnold's master, the brilliant and fascinating Abelard, with his intellect that refused to be chained, a man before his times, the "Knight-errant of Philosophy." It was fatal for him among the honest bigots of that age that the daring Breton with his Celtic audacity should declare, "Faith is an opinion, an estimate of Truth." His foe St. Bernard expressed the tenet of the mass of Church and society in that century when he set against it, "Faith is not an opinion, it is a certitude."

A second factor was the spirit of communal



CLOISTERS WITH ARABIC FOUNTAIN, MONREALE, NEAR PALERMO

PHOTO BY BROGI

independence. Already the city-republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa were vigorous centres of trade and homes of daring seamen, as ready for war and piracy, as for shipping cargoes between East and West. They preyed upon the decaying Greek Empire, which in the eleventh century was becoming unable to either protect its own trade or provide a mercantile marine for it. The other great power in the Levant, that of the Moslems, received deadly blows in the same century by the Norman and Christian occupation of South Italy and Sicily, and the First Crusade. As the Moslems receded the merchants and seamen of the North Italian sea-republics came in the first line of the Christian advance, securing in return for their aid in subjecting the maritime towns of Palestine, quarters in Jerusalem, Antioch, and Tripoli, where Venice and Genoa each possessed in full ownership a market, a church, freedom from all tolls, and a governor who dwelt in a palace and was responsible only to the mother-city. These new powers seemed about to found republican empires at the expense of Greek and Moslem. In 1113 Genoa and Pisa jointly occupied the Balearic Isles. Actually they were not the first in time among the maritime city-states. Amalfi, Gaëta, Salerno had preceded them, but the southern cities disappeared in a struggle which was relentless, and the triumphs of the twelfth century were for the northern sea-states.

A movement not essentially different from this

agitated Italy internally. The home of law, canon and civil, she was also the nurse of the free cities. In the eleventh century that movement was yet in the womb, the twelfth saw it in the full light of day advancing from victory to victory. Aribert, Archbishop of Milan, an autocrat and aristocrat, forged a deadly weapon against his own order and against episcopal and feudal rule, when in 1038 he armed Milan against the Emperor Conrad, placed weapons in the hands of the whole people in a civic militia which adored him, and gave them the *carroccio*, the waggon with its mast flying the banners of St. Ambrose and carrying the effigy of the Crucified, to fight around and never to abandon in any field of battle. By the end of that century Milan was free of its archiepiscopal lord, and every city in Lombardy with success greater or less was throwing off the dominion of bishops and feudal lords. Tuscany did the same against its margraves and North and Central Italy presented everywhere a picture of walled cities governed by elected consuls, all but free of outside interference, and guarding their liberties with an enthusiastic militia. Before the end of another century the infantry of Milan, Cremona, and the Lombard town-league had humbled at Legnano the greatest Emperor since Henry III., and the only external authority which had remained a danger to their freedom.

A factor as old as that of the communes was the imperial and cosmopolitan principle now

represented in the West by the Holy Roman Empire and in the East by the East Roman or Byzantine. For the former there was still the hope that a hereditary succession, a Common Law, a universal monarchical authority might be secured which were wanting to it for all its splendour and prestige. The Hildebrandine and theocratic ideal was its foe, for it would place the imperial power a little lower than the papal. But Roman law was to become the ally of the Emperor against the clerical claims and to inspire the high claims of Frederick Barbarossa, the "Imperialist Hildebrand," who in the latter half of this century championed to the full imperial and secular principles. All the growing forces of civic life in Germany, the nascent civilisation which marked the century, the birth of a lay spirit in poetry and popular literature, all in short that was not feudal and princely, aided the imperial idea. But even as suzerain only of a feudal state the Emperor could draw from a country so vast and warlike as Germany great armies which, if slow to collect and slow on the march, were formidable in the shock of battle. The claims of the Empire on Italy, north and south, had never been abandoned; a new Norman kingdom in Sicily and Apulia was an offence against all legality, worse even than the claims of Guiscard. From 1130, the Empire is the sworn foe of the Sicilian kingdom and its only terms with it are those of the sword. Lothar of Saxony, the present King, a man already sixty years of

age when he was elected, and not yet crowned Emperor at Rome, was a man of long experience in war and of stubborn pride, a German patriot; and likely if he interfered in Italy to do so with effect.

The Eastern Empire had in its days of power scorned the barbarian upstart of the West. But misfortunes had abated its pride and brought it to terms with the Empire which Lothar now governed. In 1071 Byzantium lost both South Italy and Asia Minor, and though Alexius recovered something of the latter the old frontiers were never regained; in addition her fleets in the course of a century had almost disappeared; Venice and Genoa supplied her with ships and patrolled the seas about her coasts; in return they exacted free trading rights, privileged quarters in the capital and other sea-ports, and began to fasten on the Empire like some parasitic growth. Yet considerable military and naval strength still remained to the East Roman realm; the services continued to produce leaders of talent and courage; above all her foreign office was conducted with much of the old skill and finesse. The character of her Emperors was all in her favour; John II. Comnenus (1118-1143) was a gallant and vigorous prince whose heart was set on recovering every lost claim of the Empire in Asia Minor or on the Italian coast.

The day of Universal Empire was in the past. That of the free cities and of national monarchy was to come. The principle of monarchy, national

and popular, anti-feudal and anti-theocratic, sprang to birth in England in the early part of the century, in Southern Italy in the first half, in France towards the end, under three great princes, Henry I., Roger II., and Philip Augustus. The new King of Sicily was with the rising forces of the age. It was inevitable that his kingdom should meet the full flow of the new tides of progress and politics. In the early part of the eleventh century it was in the hands, or under the menace, of Greeks and Saracens, and without internal force of its own. At the end, under its Norman conquerors, it was still only an outpost of the Latin-Christian world. Now the Crusaders had pushed the Moslem danger far back and Italy was half-way between a Latin Levant and the Latin-Teutonic West. All the channels of trade, politics, armed succour which went eastward and the traffic which flowed back circled round its shores. In Roger it found a great creative genius, who rose to the new order of things, and built up in the middle Mediterranean a great naval, military, and commercial state.

The infant kingdom, it might have been predicted, would be extinguished at its birth. Every day seemed to show that the tide was to turn against Anacletus. Both he and Innocent committed their cause to the sovereigns of Europe. All through the summer of 1130, letters from the rival Popes reached Lothar and the German princes. Innocent was now in France and his appearance in

person did more to secure his cause than all his appeals. He was received in great pomp by the Abbot Peter at Cluny, and it was obvious that all the new orders of Europe were solid in his support. Indeed, already before his landing his partisans had prepared the way for his triumph. Norbert in Germany, Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter of Cluny in France, had, without hesitation, adopted his cause and flung themselves into it with unsparing enthusiasm. To them Anacletus was already condemned, a man who had flung away the Papal policy in South Italy, made his money bags the support of the Sacred Throne, who, willy-nilly must, to maintain himself, squander its power right and left upon the Roman nobles, upon the Sicilian, upon the See of St. Ambrose.

A word must be said of the greatest among that coalition of Churchmen who in a year accomplished the overthrow of Anacletus in France, England, and Germany, and in three years effected the installation of Innocent in Rome itself.

Norbert of Xanthen was, in spite of physical frailness, "the soul of the undertaking"—so Innocent generously acknowledged after his triumph. Founder of the order of Prémontré and one of the greatest of those missionaries who from the tenth century on laboured for the Christianisation of the Wendish, Polish, and Slav lands to the north-east, Norbert was now since 1126 Archbishop of Magdeburg. His position, his friendship with the King, enabled him to urge all the

more that politico-religious crusade by which the Wendish fringe was becoming Christian and German. A friend of all the Reforming Churchmen of England and France, Norbert was a manifestation of the new spirit that was working in the more conservative church of Germany.

In France, Abbot Peter of Cluny had secured the Cluniac world for Innocent. Taking little personal part in the great struggle against Anacletus and Roger, yet his letters did not fail to incite the Christian world against the two. To him Roger is for long "*ille tyrannus*"; in later years, however, his abuse became congratulation. Peter is remembered as a vigorous polemical writer and defender of Catholic dogma. One of his treatises is against the Jews, another against the "detestable sect of the Saracens." He had enough scholarly fairness and curiosity to get the Koran translated for him and a Spaniard, an Englishman, a Dalmatian, and a Moslem produced in Toledo a version, which is no more than indifferent, intended "to expose the heresy of the impostor" who was the Prophet of Islam. Peter addresses his treatise in a scarcely complimentary fashion to "the Arabs, sons of Ishmael, who observe the laws of him whom they call Mahomet." It was while he was on a visit to the Cluniac abbeys of Spain in 1141 that the idea of the translation occurred to him; he remains in doubt whether the Moslems are pagans or heretics; at least they appeared to

him worth converting by his vigorous and somewhat naive methods.¹

As Cluny stood for Innocent under the leadership of Peter, so the Cistercian order was for him under the guidance of Bernard. The latter was now some thirty-nine years old; it was seventeen years since, leaving Cîteaux, he had founded and become Abbot of Clairvaux on the Aube, the famous eldest daughter of the mother-community of the Cistercians. St. Bernard is in commanding personality to the Church of the twelfth century what Hildebrand was to that of the eleventh. The impulse of Cluniac ideals was as strong in him as in their first champions. His character combined gifts rarely united: a talent for affairs; an unshrinking audacity in the cause at issue; a profound contemplativeness; a saintliness that burned inwardly and shone out of him. Insignificant and meagre in person, his looks would have repelled had not a peculiar brightness animated his face with its red-gold hair and beard and given him the aspect of transfigured holiness.

The ardent desire of the Abbot of Clairvaux was to see the Church placed upon an awful eminence of power and authority, united, purified, free from secular chains, but only that it might fulfil a great purpose and a perfect moral leadership. Therefore, he never shrank from speaking truth to the Papal lord whom like all Cluniacs he desired to see unquestioned Head of the Church. "Remember,"

¹ Littré, *Histoire littéraire de France*, t. xiii., pp. 427, 492.

he said to one Pope, "that thou thyself art not the lord of bishops but one among them, for the rest regard thyself as under obligations to be the figure of justice and the mirror of holiness." A lover of the poor, he protested against the savage, senseless wars of kings and nobles. He did not fear to lift up his voice for the Jews at a time when the people and the nobles were apt to think a massacre of the Semitic populations of the cities a pious prelude to, or a satisfactory quittance for not departing upon, a crusade. "The Jews are scattered among all nations for this purpose, that while they make just expiation of their sins, they may be the witnesses of our redemption." His hymns and sermons give us still a sympathetic insight into the mind of the greatest Churchman of that century. The Communion of Saints was a vision that always gladdened him; "they who have come out of great tribulation shall they not appeal for those who still continue in it?" Our vernacular preserves still two of his hymns, "O Sacred Head now wounded" and "Jesus, the very thought of thee," utterances of his ecstatic piety.

Anchorite, ascetic, preacher, poet, and champion of spiritual righteousness, St. Bernard made three great and decisive appearances in the arena of European politics and affairs.

The first was when he came forth from his cloister to combat the influence and teaching of Abelard. The public utterances of the Breton seemed to

Bernard, to Peter of Cluny, to Norbert of Germany, most detestable, and full of danger to the Church, to morals and authority. The year 1113, in which Bernard entered Cîteaux, was the first year of Abelard's intellectual reign. As teacher at the school of Notre Dame, five thousand students gathered to hear the eloquence and audacity of this free spirit, some of whom rose to the highest offices of the Church. Bernard, opposed to him in every point, and at least as prompt to act, to speak, to write, united with Norbert and Abbot Peter to break the eagle's wings. In 1121, he was condemned at the Council of Soissons and was compelled to take refuge for a while in St.-Denis. Finally at the Council of Sens (1141) held before Louis VII. Bernard brought to an end the vendetta against the aged and broken philosopher. It was no hard task for the Abbot of Clairvaux to show how philosophic ideas could verge into dangerous theology. Abelard had dedicated his *Theologia* to those who rejected the doctrine that anything might be believed without its being understood. He had described the heathen philosophers as superior to the Church Fathers and to the Jews. The morality of the Gospel was a reformation of the Law of Nature which these philosophers had found and followed. Of original sin "it is less a sin than a punishment"; crime is not in the act but in the intention; those who crucified the Lord without knowing that He was the Saviour did not sin; Redemption was an act of pure love; the

sufferings of hermits and martyrs were all in vain, for God was an easy and amiable God who delighted not in such things. Such doctrine, heard with delight by some, held as a gospel by a few, stamped Abelard for such men as Bernard as neither more nor less than a pagan, an intellectual anarchist, a deadly leveller of Free Will, Authority, Papal and clerical power. Bernard here at Sens opened his attack with a text true to every thought of his mind, "The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do unto me." But Abelard was already old and broken and no longer an antagonist to be feared; he quitted the Council on the first day. Bernard's eloquence procured a condemnation of the absent man; Abelard's career was over and he retired to die within two years at St.-Marcel near Châlons.

A second time Bernard became a man of action when he built up the nine-years' coalition against Anacletus and Roger and ended the schism in the Church. A third time he drew the eyes of all Europe upon him when he launched the Second Crusade upon the East. Each was a righteous cause from which the humble-hearted and diffident monk dare not shrink.

In the autumn of 1130, the German Church was secured for Innocent by the action of Walter, Archbishop of Ravenna Conrad, of Salzburg, and Norbert of Magdeburg. In France there was little opposition. Bernard secured the summoning of a Council to Étampes, and there, on January

30, 1131, the French King with his barons and prelates assembled to hear the case pleaded. The burning words of Bernard carried king, princes, and bishops away; the kingdom as well as the Church of France pledged itself to Innocent's cause. At Chartres the saint and Henry I. of England met. The latter with his bishops was inclined towards Anacletus, and doubted whether it were not sin to acknowledge Innocent; Bernard with ironic humour offered to take that sin, if such it were, on his own conscience, and Henry might answer personally for his other misdeeds. The eloquence and humour of the Abbot of Clairvaux made partisans of the kings of England and France; he next turned to win the reluctant Lothar. In March, 1131, the latter was at Liège with almost all his magnates and prelates. Innocent entered the city with Bernard and fifteen cardinal-priests or cardinal-bishops in his train. Though the old King did the Pope every honour and held his stirrup as he dismounted, the winning him to the Papal plans needed delicate handling. Ready to acknowledge Innocent, Lothar was disposed to make some capital from the situation; he spoke of reviving the right of Investiture over which Empire and Papacy had shivered lances over half a century. But the eloquence and diplomacy of Bernard and Norbert secured for Innocent that which he asked for and without any dangerous concession; Lothar promised to lead the Pope back to Rome in the winter.

The coalition of kings against Anacletus was now complete. If Bernard could effect it, the weight of the blow would fall as well upon Roger as upon the schismatic Pope. He charged all his appeals with invectives against the Sicilian. Lothar's resentment was fanned by a reminder of the imperial claim to the south of Italy. "It is Cæsar's duty to win back the crown which is his by right from the Sicilian usurper. Every one who makes himself king in Sicily speaks against Cæsar."¹ Bernard's diplomatic skill further won over Genoa and Pisa to place their fleets on the side of the coalition. Might and Right were there leagued together. Anacletus, he said, had only one on his side of the princes of Europe, namely the Duke of Apulia, bought by the pitiful price of a usurped crown. He set the fashion; for most of his life Roger is to all his foes the "Sicilian usurper," "the half-heathen King."

Bernard had thus isolated Anacletus. In the spring of 1132, both Innocent and he appeared in North Italy to prepare the way for an imperial army. The march of the latter was slow; in the interval Bernard secured a definite treaty with Genoa at Corneto in March, 1133, by which Genoa promised a fleet. Innocent at Pisa won that city over by recognising her archbishop as Primate over Corsica. In the same way Genoa was declared a Metropolitan see and freed from Milan (January, 1133). Anacletus meanwhile

¹ S. Bern., ep. 139, Watterich, *P.R.VV.*, ii., 214.

could only excommunicate Innocent and all his followers; both Popes lay under the ban of the other.

Against the attack which threatened both Pope and King it was necessary to secure Benevento and Monte Cassino, which lay in the rear of the one and were frontier posts for the other.

Benevento, following the tendency of the time, had revived the commune of 1015, which was to take the place both of the old Lombard princes and of the Papal suzerain. The leaders of the democrats had however been expelled in an *émeute* of 1128, stirred up by the supporters of the Papal government. Eight days after Epiphany, 1130, Anacletus came to Benevento; he summoned to the palace the heads of the communal party, of whom Rolpoto of San Eustasio was most prominent, while at the same time Crescentius the Papal rector lay in wait with four hundred armed men to seize them. Thus treacherously surprised they could make no resistance; Rolpoto was only released on condition that he would never seek to revive the commune again.¹ Monte Cassino did not need to be secured; its Abbot Seniorectus acknowledged Anacletus, and thus secured Roger a friend in the land north of Naples.

But behind the frontiers of the kingdom there uprose a formidable revolt, a great effort of Capua, Naples, the Norman and Lombard feudatories, and the Apulian towns to shake off the yoke

¹ Falco, sub anno 1130.

which they feared Roger, first as Duke and now as King, would impose upon their liberties, civic or territorial. For Capua and Naples it was a protest against the loss of their independence. The rising, which began in September, 1131, was encouraged and long sustained by the prospect of the attack upon Roger from the north. But that attack was so delayed that the King was able for the time to stamp out the revolt.

If the mainland had acknowledged Roger once as Duke it had scarcely been consulted as to his royal title, and he himself saw that it must be imposed by the sword. Amalfi was the first of the belligerents to move. The King had requested the citizens to hand over to him the custody of their fortresses. The request, infringing as it did the treasured city liberties, was refused, and the King ordered the city to be forced into acquiescence.¹ She was blockaded by George of Antioch from the sea, and by a royal army under the Admiral John from the mountain slopes behind. At Roger's arrival from Sicily after his coronation festivities the city surrendered (February, 1131). Naples had prepared to join in, but staggered at the fall of Amalfi, Sergius made a timely submission. The city "which since the time of the Romans scarcely ever was conquered even by the sword now submitted to Roger because of a mere report." So says Alexander of Telese; the submission, however, seems merely to have been one

¹ Al. Tel., bk. ii., ch. vii.

of service or money payment and left Sergius still a weak but independent prince.¹

Robert of Capua took the field in the early months of 1132, with 3000 knights and 40,000 foot. Farther south a quarrel between Roger and his brother-in-law, Rainulf of Avellino, lit the blaze of a great baronial rising and gave to the rebels a leader far greater than the Prince of Capua. Richard, Rainulf's brother, being in possession of Avellino and Mercogliano, declared publicly that he held them of no lord. Roger's envoy, sent to call him to account, was blinded and mutilated. Thereupon, the King's troops attacked Avellino and drove Richard out of it. At the same time, Rainulf came into conflict with the King, whose conduct seems less than just. Matilda, wife of Rainulf, apparently loved her brother better than her husband; she came to the King representing that her husband had refused to hand over to her her dowry of land in the Caudine valley. Never would she return to the marital couch unless Rainulf did her justice. The latter then sent to the King at Montefusco complaining of his wife's flight, and asking that she might be restored to him along with Avellino and Mercogliano. Roger's answer was that his sister's conduct was no affair of his, let Rainulf seek his court at Palermo for justice. Meanwhile, he despatched Matilda and her son Robert to Sicily where they remained as hostages. Rainulf was wounded both in his

¹ Schipa, *Arch. stor. Nap.*, 1887, p. 446.

honour and his affections. He declared himself wronged in wife and son, in brother, and in estate; finally he refused with defiance to attend Roger at the royal court.

The King lost no time in facing the revolt which surged round him in all quarters. Bari had risen again under its prince Grimoald who sought to make the old Greek capital a free state. The city was besieged by land and sea and forced to submit (end of June, 1132); its prince was despatched into Sicily. The rising which had begun in Apulia was stamped out; Tancred of Conversano, the old opponent, was taken with his city and saved himself by a lying oath that he would go to Palestine.

In Campania the formidable host of Robert had made it possible for a revolution to take place at Benevento, unfavourable to Roger and his Pope.

Towards the end of 1131 Innocent despatched the Cardinal Girard to secure Benevento against Anacletus. Under cover of Robert's army he was able to enter the city, where a large part of the citizens came to terms with him. He was proclaimed rector, and while the Capuan army secured him from without he turned the tables on the opposite party by taking the commune under his patronage and making Rolpoto constable. The Cardinal Crescentius who was rector for Anacletus had to seek for Roger's aid against Robert and Girard; the King answered by sending some horse to harry the environs, and offering to free the Beneventans from tributes and exactions

formerly levied by the Normans of the vicinity. At the same time (early in July, 1132) he marched north to make a settlement of the question in person. He found the confederates however barring his way at Montesarchio across the old Roman road through the Caudine valley; their imposing force was headed by Robert and the injured Rainulf. Both laboured to inflame their followers against the King; both proclaimed a proud defiance of him. The Prince of Capua declared to those around him, "this man can endure no power or lordship near his own." Rainulf adjured the Normans to stand fast in the good cause and endure death for the fatherland. Their terms were couched in insult: let that so-called King of yours know that in no way will we come to terms with him till he restores to Count Rainulf his wife, his son, and the city of Avellino. Roger could only summon them once more to seek justice at his court.

The sword was not yet drawn. The two armies each moved upon Benevento in order to secure its allegiance. Roger was met by Cardinal Crescencius, Archbishop Landulf, and a number of citizens, the latter of whom pledged the city to Roger. Benevento was not to aid in nor consent to anything by which the King should lose life, limb, or liberty, and it should make continual war on the Prince and the Count, saving the due fealty to St. Peter. This oath was repudiated in the city itself, and the burgesses declared themselves unwilling

to be bound to the King and to serve him in his expeditions with Sicilians, Calabrians, and Apulians in the toil, the heat, the sweat of war. They added naively, "we refuse to consort with so great a King, for our lines are cast in leisurely places, and we were never accustomed to dangerous ways of life." All that either army could effect was a declaration of neutrality, while Crescentius apparently continued to hold his own in the city.¹

The two hosts were now facing one another, and had Roger been of the same temper as Rainulf he would have settled the issue there. But feeling himself too weak or too far from his base, he commenced a retreat. The historian Falco, who is prejudiced against him, describes it as a disgraceful flight. Robert's advance-guard followed hard on Roger's rear, making havoc among his Saracens; while the King, riding swiftly by night and day and by little-known mountain ways, revolved in his mind an oath that when the day of vengeance was come he would pay back well all that he was receiving now.

The silent vow was characteristic of the King. Otherwise we may think Falco's account over-coloured. Whether an organised retreat became a flight or no, Roger was able when he came to Nocera, "Prince Robert's chiefest town," to break down the wooden bridge over the Sarno, where that river joins the Sabato. He then began the siege of the castle of Nocera, and prepared for

¹ Falco, 1132.

battle against his pursuers. The latter constructed a new bridge, and an attack of the royal forces failed to prevent their crossing the river and drawing up in line for battle on the plain between Nocera and the Sarno. The day was the 24th July, 1132. The Prince of Capua's troops were arranged with their backs to the bridge, a dangerous way of retreat if the day went against them. His own force counted at least one thousand knights divided into squadrons in front and rear; perhaps a larger number were under the command of his lieutenant Rainulf. The latter, stationed on the right wing, formed his troops into three divisions, having a centre and wings; the latter being intended as reserves (*custodiæ*). Of his knights he despatched two hundred and fifty to raise the siege of the castle and divert part of Roger's force. The King's army was ranged in eight successive divisions, some of these forming a reserve.

The action was begun by the royalists. Their first line, with their lances thrown away, their swords drawn, and their horses spurred to the full charge, rode irresistibly in on the Prince's leading squadron and routed it at once. At the sight of this the infantry, who had been stationed as a support behind the cavalry of the vanguard, turned and fled to the river. The bridge was not sufficient for the flying; a thousand perished in the water, the majority escaped over the broad plain to left and right of the battle. The second line, all cavalry, of the Capuans, which had opened its

ranks to let the flying vanguard through, now reformed and charged upon Roger's second line as it followed in the wake of the first onset. But they too could not endure the weight of the King's cavalry, and were giving way when Rainulf, lance in hand, launched his main force of five hundred knights from the flank upon the King's front lines, disordered by the charge.

This turned the tide of fortune. The successive shocks of the Count's right and left squadrons charging in after him completed the effects of his onset; the royalists reeled and gave way. Rainulf's knights having broken their lances drew their swords; Rainulf, a born fighter, rushed deep into the *mêlée*, furious as a hungry lion; his hand-play was so vigorous that a blow of his dagger struck upon the helmet of an opponent hurled him from his horse. The Prince of Capua's cavalry rallied; the double onset was too much for the royalists' vanguard; they broke, and in their flight swept away the reserves. Roger made a desperate effort to stem the rout; seizing a lance he rode among the flying ranks crying, "Here is the King." The royal name had no magic; and seeing that the disaster was irrevocable he turned his horse away from the field, and rode hard for Salerno. Four knights only were with him; Rainulf followed hard behind. At sunset the King galloped into Salerno, and the gates were slammed behind him in the face of the pursuers. It was Rainulf's victory and it was complete.

The King's camp fell into the hands of his foes, and the Bull of Anacletus became the subject of their sport. Over seven hundred of his knights were captives; his infantry were cut to pieces in the massacre that usually followed such a defeat.

No one living at that time could remember so great a slaughter of Christians, so says a credible historian of the event.¹ Benevento heard the news with joy, from all quarters the forces of revolt uprose again; only Salerno and Sicily seemed true. But Roger himself was the best hope of his own cause. His first battle was his first defeat; never at any time did he prove himself a soldier as gallant and spirited as Rainulf. But his courage-*sang-froid*, and resourcefulness were illimitable; he was still the King if without an army; his foes were but a feudal coalition who could turn their victory to little account.

From his refuge in Salerno, where his composed and cheerful mien was remarked with wonder, Roger collected a new army; the fleet and the command of the sea were still his. In Apulia, the revolt was again in full blaze under the forsworn Tancred of Conversano, whom the King, it is recorded, hated with a deadly hate. Bari was held even against its former prince Grimoald, returned, how we know not, from Sicily, but Tancred laid siege to Brindisi in September, 1132,

¹ Falco, sub anno 1132, who gathered his account from a participant in the battle. It is also described by Al. Tel., bk. ii., chaps. xxix.-xxxii.

swearing an oath, should he capture the place, to burn alive or crucify its defenders. The city surrendered itself at last to the milder prince Grimoald.

Roger himself led the royal army into Apulia, and exacted from his vassals gathered at Melfi in October an oath of fealty to himself and his sons Roger and Tancred. In the north his horsemen constantly hovered around Benevento. In the west the ducal capital, Salerno, seemed lost. It was attacked by Robert of Capua with Pisans and Amalfitans from sea and Rainulf from land, and its garrison commanded by the Chancellor Robert was hard pressed. A gallant resistance was made by the burghers, who had a reputation for always standing true to their old lords, and when they had to yield up the city they bargained that four hundred knights who were within the walls should retire unharmed to Roger. The Chancellor himself moved up into the castle which overlooks the city from the hill, and held out all winter.

The leaders of the insurrection for all their triumphs looked eagerly for Lothar's coming—*longe lateque optatum*. Their hopes rose, therefore, all through the autumn and winter of 1132. By the 15th of August, 1132, Lothar had with much labour collected round him at Würzburg a small imperial army. His immediate object was to lead Innocent back to Rome, since for any effective attack on Roger his forces were too small. In the last days of September, after descending

the valley of the Adige, he encamped by Lake Garda. Early in November Innocent met him at the Roncaglian plain outside Piacenza. Lothar spent the winter months in Romagna, but in spring prepared to march upon Rome. With an army of two thousand knights, swollen by Lombard levies, he passed into the states of the Church, where he met Innocent at Viterbo, and at the end of April, 1133, was at the gates of Rome. Inside the city the faction of the Frangipani and Corsi had revived; they admitted the King and Pope on April 30th. Anacletus held the Leonine town, the Vatican, St. Peter's, and San Angelo; momentarily in desperate straits, he tried in vain to make terms with Lothar. Half the city was Innocent's, but not St. Peter's where traditionally the imperial coronation took place; Lothar and his queen were therefore crowned at the Lateran. Among those who watched the hasty ceremony were Robert of Capua and Rainulf with a train of three hundred knights; along with them was Cardinal Girard who had effected a triumphal entry into Benevento in the name of Innocent.

Anacletus, half besieged in his quarter of Rome, had little hope of Roger's arriving like a second Guiscard to his relief. That year was for the King one of hard and ceaseless warfare against his nearer foes.

In the spring he landed from Sicily with a fresh army of those dreaded Saracens to whose ferocity he gave the fullest license. Venosa, a capital and

the burying place of the Hautevilles, fell about the time of his landing before an attack of a thousand Apulian rebels (April, 1133). The King's first object was Apulia; he began there a pitiless war in which neither he nor his savage Moslem mercenaries gave quarter, and which was marked, like all Roger's warfare, not by battles but by endless sieges of towns and castles. The rising could not be suppressed too soon, in view of Lothar's coming. Venosa was recovered, and to punish their probable treason the men, women, and children of the city were all put to the sword. Troia, a place of old Norman memories, received at Roger's hands the deserts of an ingrate. As the King's army appeared the Bishop summoned all the clergy, monks, and people, and clad in white marched at the head of a procession which sang songs of praise and exhibited the relics of saints with the hope of staying the King's wrath. Not all these devices could avert the savage anger with which Roger entered the city. Forgetful of all Catholic practice and, says the prejudiced historian, being a foe of the Christian religion, he fixed his burning eyes with scorn upon the pitiful procession, refused angrily the glory offered to him, and vowed he would destroy or expatriate the whole city. Of the leading burghers five were hanged, the houses and goods of the inhabitants were destroyed by fire.¹

The siege of Montepeloso in the Basilicata

¹ Falco, anno 1133.

strung both sides to a desperate exertion. The lord of that town was Tancred of Conversano, one of a family which could expect no mercy from the King. Rainulf from the Campania sent to his aid forty knights under Roger Plenco, and the insurgent cause seemed to hang upon the event. The King himself commanded the besiegers. After a long fight the barbican of the fortress was thrown down, and on the ground thus gained the siege engines were pushed up to the moat. The Saracens filled this with timber as a platform for the engines; Tancred had firebrands hurled down upon the timber; and the besiegers met this by turning water into the trench. At last the *belarius*, the pole furnished with an iron hook at its head, familiar in medieval war, tore down enough of the wall to form a breach through which, as also through the gates, the royalists forced a way into the town. Fire and sword made an end of the populace, the garrison, the houses, and the abbey. Roger Plenco suffered an ignoble death by hanging; the miserable Tancred was forced to pull the rope with his own hands and was fortunate enough to be merely banished from the kingdom. The siege and fate of Montepeloso show Roger's energy and calculating cruelty at their full.

Meanwhile, Lothar had left Rome in the middle of June, leaving Innocent to the care of the Frangipani. On the 23d October, 1133, he was back at Mainz, and there heard the news that Innocent was once more a fugitive.

No sooner had the old Emperor turned his back on Rome than a swing of the pendulum in Central and Southern Italy restored almost the conditions of 1130. Robert of Capua foresaw it, and strove to secure aid from Genoa and Pisa. Rainulf attempted a *coup-de-main* upon Benevento. He summoned the exiled Rolpoto to his side, and the Count and republican chief together appeared with 1000 horse and 20,000 foot, the forces of the absent Prince of Capua, before La Pelosa, the castle of Ugo the Infant, who held a small force of marauders together there in Roger's name. The castle fell; Cardinal Crescentius, who was again in possession of Benevento after several turns of fortune, at such serious news sent off for troops to the King. Norman horse soon appeared, and acting on orders destroyed all the vines in the neighbourhood of the city. The inhabitants had every reason to curse their King and them; not even Nero, the cruellest of all pagan Europe, had ever inflicted such slaughter and misery on Christians.¹ Rainulf and Rolpoto, however, were at hand, and in October the communal leader was master of the city and Crescentius was once more expelled. The warlike deputy of Anacletus made an armed attempt to seize the city which was repulsed, but his partisans inside the walls plotted to murder Rolpoto. At the end of November about St. Andrew's Day a counterplot of the communal party broke out; Rolpoto, returning

¹ Falco, anno 1133.

from an interview with Rainulf, found that two of Crescentius's partisans had been murdered. For the time Rolpoto maintained himself in Benevento.

Elsewhere the cause of Anacletus prospered. His partisans rose in Rome and overpowered the Frangipani; Innocent could find no footing in the city and taking ship sought refuge once more in his faithful Pisa. In the north Bernard and he awaited a fresh revolution in events; in the south, victory went all with Anacletus's King.

Apulia was now broken into submission by a ruthless warfare which, says Falco, made the army of the insurgents "wonder and shudder, and pray that God would resist so great a tyrant and man of blood." In October, 1133, the King returned to winter in Palermo; twenty-three vessels laden with countless spoils and thousands of captives accompanied him; a storm rose in the night, and they went down with all their cargo.

Early in 1134, he landed again in Salerno, into whose harbour he sailed with sixty galleys. In the brief campaign his foes could make no effective stand. There remained only the Campania to deal with, and the army of Rainulf, who, hoping for another Nocera, sought vainly from his camp on the Sarno to bring the wary Roger to battle. Robert was in the north, seeking an aid from Pisa which was given finally but too late. Deserted by all, Rainulf was at last brought to submission. In July, 1134, the King and his gallant brother-in-law were seemingly reconciled in a

meeting at Lauro in Rainulf's own fief of Avellino. Rainulf knelt and kissed the King's feet; Roger raised him up and embraced him among the tears of the bystanders. But there was no weak generosity in the victor; though he restored his late foe to all his fiefs he exacted from the Count's vassals an oath akin to that of Salisbury, by which, should their lord revolt once more against the King, they should give him a period of forty days in which they should strive to bring him to his allegiance; if they failed then they must make war upon him with all their might.

The royal army then moved north. The King entered Capua and Robert became a landless refugee; Rolpoto at Benevento had already taken his flight to Naples and from Naples to Pisa, finally meeting an obscure death on the road by drowning; Crescentius re-entered the city in June. Sergius of Naples had played consistently, if not actively, the part of an ally to Robert and Rainulf. He now came in to Roger at Capua, knelt before him, placed his hands between those of the King, and swore homage and fealty to him. It was this time a true feudal submission on the part of the *Magister Militum*; his city only was left to him; of the duchy the outlying territories had been conquered and were retained by Roger.¹

The conquest, dispossession, or submission of all the insurgent allies was now complete. They had ended their second revolt as sworn vassals of

¹ Schipa, *Arch. stor. Nap.*, 1894, p. 470.

the Crown; if the Count of Avellino, the Master of Naples, the feudal lords and towns of Apulia should rise again it would be as perjured traitors to their legitimate King.



SEALS OF ROBERT, PRINCE
OF CAPUA

CHAPTER IV

THE GREAT CONFEDERATION AGAINST ROGER

1134-1144

THE year 1134 saw Roger master of his kingdom and Anacletus secure once more in Rome. But one antagonist remained unwearied in efforts to overthrow both.

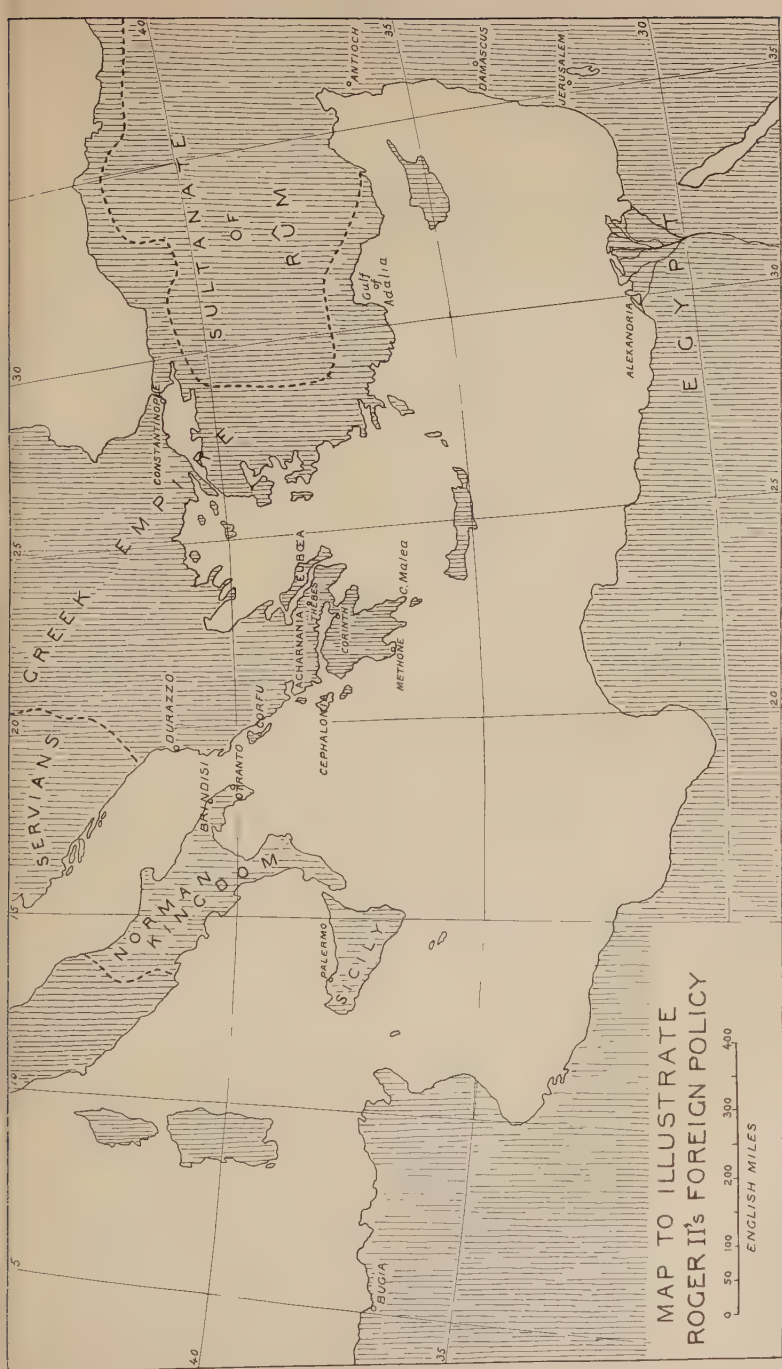
Bernard of Clairvaux had remained in the northern parts of Italy, and meditated a greater confederacy than that of 1130-1133. There was no lack of materials to his hand. Lothar felt towards Roger a stubborn Teutonic contempt; Innocent was inflexible in entertaining no terms with the supporter of Anacletus; the sea-republics feared the growth of a new South-Italian kingdom likely to wrest from them the mastery of the seas. The Norman power was an insult and a continual source of fear to the Basileus of Constantinople; what if it should revive the designs of Guiscard and Bohemund upon the ancient Empire? Moreover to the unforgetting Byzantine it was but as yesterday that a Greek Catapan had ruled South Italy, from Bari. At both imperial courts the

suggestion of a universal attack upon Roger needed no advocates. Lothar gave an asylum to Robert of Capua, and two brothers of Rainulf; the Byzantine palaces sheltered a little band of the Apulian "disinherited," among whom was Roger of Sorrento, brother of Robert of Capua; Pisa was a general refuge for the Sicilian's native enemies.

Bernard was convinced that Roger was the soul of schism, and had for each of the King's foes a ready argument. He urged Lothar to destroy "the enemy of the Church and the robber of imperial lands." From Pisa he summed up in vigorous terms the whole case for a prompt attack on Roger and his Pope. It was not his place to give the summons for war, but it was the duty of the Defender of the Church to protect her against the violence of schismatics, as it was the Emperor's duty to defend his own crown against the Sicilian usurper. For just as it was an insult to the Church that a Jew had seized the throne of Peter, so it was a wrong to Cæsar that that man should dare to make himself King of Sicily.¹

The Abbot of Clairvaux had, in 1133, united the hostile republics of Genoa and Pisa in the cause. He now writes to the Genoese that he has heard how Roger, to whom he will give only the name Duke, has sent messengers to them with presents; what they have taken back he knows not, but he reminds them of the poet:

¹ Caruso, *Bibliotheca Regni Siciliae*, vol. ii., p. 975.



Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes

To both cities he addresses a vengeful appeal; let them show their valour in war, for it is not only against their neighbours, but against the enemies of the Church; let them defend the crown of their Empire against the Sicilian, so will they make righteous conquests.

Venice and the Greek Empire were enrolled in the confederacy. The Bishop of Havelberg was despatched by Lothar to bring the willing Basileus John to an alliance against Roger. At Merseburg, August, 1135, Greek envoys appeared with promise of aid, and demanded North Africa as their share of the spoils.

The hopes of all were raised by the news that the Sicilian was dead. In fact Roger had, in February, 1135, lost his wife Elvira whom he had married in 1120. At her death, the King's grief was very great; he shut himself up in his room for several days, and refused to see even his dearest friends. The rumour of his death naturally spread. No time was lost by the leaders of revolt in the kingdom, as soon as they heard the news; with Roger gone, and the half of Europe preparing for the great war, they united in repudiating the submission of 1134. But again the slow march of Lothar deceived them.

The duchy of Capua and the Terra di Lavoro were the first to revolt. On the 24th April, 1135, Robert was received into Naples with twenty

Pisan ships and eight thousand men. An attack on Capua, however, failed to restore him in his former capital; and Amalfi also was retained by royal garrisons. Naples and its contado were made the base of the rising; Aversa with its commanding fortress was wrested from the King's allegiance by the insurgents.

The news roused Roger from his grief. He despatched at once a fleet and army under the Admiral John and the Chancellor Guarin. On the 5th June, he himself landed at Salerno to the joy of his party. In the ducal capital the joy-bells rang; in Benevento the historian Alexander of Telese heard the joyful tramping and noise of those citizens whose hearts were for the King.¹ The King took a solemn oath of vengeance for the new rising; to two of his foes, Sergius and Rainulf, he would show no mercy as they had observed neither faith, gratitude, nor the ties of kinship. Robert of Capua, however, should he forsake these two, he was willing to restore to part of his honours; but the Prince was not to be seduced.

A close siege of Naples was begun, and Roger posted his lines between Cucullo and the Lake of Patria. But a conflict between besieged and besiegers, the last fight between the Roman-Greeks of the city and the "barbarous Franks," caused the King to withdraw some distance.

Aversa was now held by Rainulf. On the news of the King's approach the Count abandoned it;

¹ Al. Tel., bk. iii., ch. ix.

Roger put it to the sack and had its ruins strewn over the ground where it once stood. Among others the castle of Caiazzo fell. A most commanding fortress built on the sheer rock, the King had it made doubly strong, and it became the model for his fortifications. Here the local barons were assembled by the King with all the knights who held of them, and were pledged by their tenures to build and keep houses round about the castle, and maintain a garrison permanently within the fortress.¹ Aversa itself was rebuilt soon after and a few fortresses held the ruined country for the King.

In the autumn the Pisan fleet momentarily relieved Naples. It then swept down on Amalfi; the Pisans were able to sack their little rival, and to plunder its dependencies. This was the 6th of August; on the 8th as the Pisans turned to the sack of Ravello, Roger, who was fortifying the latter, came down from the hill-ways behind it, and fell on the Northerners with 7000 men. Of the Pisans 15,000, it is said, were killed or taken; the remnant turned back to Naples. The siege of this city was again renewed; Roger had the vineyards burned right up to the wall; an Amalfitan fleet closed up the port; and for the remainder of 1135 Naples was hemmed in by the garrisons of Aversa, Cucullo, and Acerra.

Before the King returned, as his wont was, to Sicily for the winter, he made a great family enfeoffment of the Regno. His eldest sons were

¹ *Ibid.*, bk. iii., ch. xxx.

now growing to manhood; the time was now come to divide the mainland provinces among them. Roger the eldest was created Duke of Apulia, and was recognised as the heir to the throne. Alfonso, the second, was installed as Prince of Capua, and, in the former capital of Robert, received the homage of the vassals of the duchy. To show, however, that Roger in no way intended a division of royal power, the oaths were taken saving the fealty of the King and his successor. The third son, Tancred, became Prince of Bari; while for the defence of the Terra di Lavoro, Roger appointed his son-in-law, Adam, Count Robert, son of Richard, and Simon, Count of S. Angelo on Monte Gargano, who was the cousin of the King, each to serve in succession. The Camerarius Jocelyn was made King's Deputy and Procurator and given the duty of guiding and assisting the young princes.

By the distribution of the mainland kingdom among his sons and kinsmen, Roger thus finally installed the Hautevilles in all the scattered conquests of the Normans, both of Aversa and Apulia. The new titles themselves were a disclaimer of all former sovereignty; the one made Prince Robert of Capua's inheritance a thing of the past, the other made an end of the pretensions of Grimoald to Bari; the Norman lords of Aversa and Capua, contemporaries and rivals of the earliest sons of Tancred, and the city-princes of the old Greek capitals in Italy came to an end together.

The close of the year saw the native revolt once more all but extinguished. Naples alone held out; desperately beset as it was by famine and Roger's garrisons, only the presence of Rainulf, who had assumed command, and the determination of his garrison of three hundred knights, encouraged the city to hold out. Robert of Capua and Rainulf's brother Richard were meanwhile at Lothar's court, begging him with tears to march to the relief.

The news of the Emperor's coming now began to agitate friend and foe. The sword had long been out of the scabbard, but internal troubles hindered Lothar's intention. At last the ponderous imperial army was got to its feet. On the 15th August, 1136, there assembled at Würzburg for the march south a feudal levy large enough to dispose both of Roger and Anacletus, and an assembly of bishops and abbots, who represented the German Church, unanimous for Innocent. The rivals, Duke Henry of Bavaria and Conrad of Swabia, and fourteen of the first princes of the Empire, the three Metropolitans, and thirteen bishops and abbots of the German Church, with their feudal troops, undertook the Rome-journey with Lothar.

Bernard and Innocent prepared the way for the great expedition. The Abbot of Clairvaux was despatched to Milan to procure the deposition of the archbishop; received with joy and credited with numerous miracles, he had no difficulty in

sending the partisan of Anacletus prisoner to Innocent, and instituting in the see of St. Ambrose a Metropolitan more obsequious to the latter Pope.

On the 9th October, 1136, Lothar and his host, having climbed the Brenner and descended the valley of the Adige, encamped on the Roncaglian plain outside Piacenza. They found Lombardy east and west a battle-ground of communes, a network of city leagues divided by the most unrelenting feuds. With little success did the untiring Bernard strive to reconcile the combatants with one another and with the Emperor. The imperial Rome-journey was becoming harder in every generation: less than a hundred years before, Henry III. marched through Italy with something akin to a welcome; now Lothar had to struggle through one wide mesh of hostile or suspicious towns jealous of their new liberties, and was compelled to cut his way with the sword. The slow and costly advance of Italy's lawful lord did much to save Roger at the final encounter. Under the walls of Trent, at the defile of Verona, at Guastalla, a way had to be made by the irresistible charges of the German knights upon townsmen and peasants. On the Roncaglian plain forty thousand Milanese flocked in, and a vast array of Italian vassals, bishops, counts, burghers, gathered under the Imperial banner, attested the splendour of the Empire. The Milanese soon returned home, after Lothar had glutted their unholy hate of Cremona by leading them to the sack of several of its castles.

But when at the end of October, the Emperor moved west, his force was swollen by many of the leading princes of Northern Italy and some Lombard prelates. The march took its way as far west as Turin, and then south to Bologna. Here, at the beginning of February, 1137, the Emperor divided the host; Henry of Bavaria, his son-in-law, with three thousand knights and the accompanying foot, was directed to take his way through Tuscany, the Papal states, and Campania; from which, after re-instating Innocent, he was to pass over into Apulia, and join the Emperor there for the great attack on Roger.

While the Duke climbed the Apennines from the valley of the Montone, Lothar took his course through Ravenna and the March of Ancona. It was hard fighting all the way; the nominal lord of Italy had to wring not only homage, but even the barest civility from Italy by armed force. Ancona directed an attack on the imperialists which cost them two thousand men; it had to be forced into surrender by a joint siege from land and sea; its fear probably was that it would be handed over to the mercy of Lothar's ally, its neighbour Venice, which had co-operated in the blockade. At Fermo, the Emperor spent Easter; Spoleto was battered into due submission, and in the middle of April, Lothar reached the Tronto, and looked from the March of Teate upon the new kingdom of the Sicilian. He had had bloody bickerings in his own

camp between Saxons and Bavarians, between the partisans of the Hohenstaufen and the Welfs, to add to Italy's ungracious reception.

Meanwhile Roger made every effort against the attack which was thus drawing home. The siege of Naples had continued all through the close of 1136 and was carried into the new year. The *Magister Militum* and his most devoted partisans, "mindful of the former independence of their city and the glory of their ancestors, had sworn to die of hunger rather than place the neck under yoke of so detestable a King." Rainulf himself had got out of the city and joined the Emperor on his march southward.

Roger was awake to the need of securing his frontiers against the German deluge; his border fortresses were doubly manned and fortified. But as Lothar still moved south into Apulia, the royal commanders were isolated and overwhelmed; their loyalty was generally punished with a barbarity not less severe than that of their own King. Castel Pagano, north-west of Monte Gargano, was surrendered by its inhabitants; the Norman fortress had to yield, and its commander was blinded by Lothar's orders. Monte Gargano and Siponto fell before the German attack; the levies of Troia, Cannæ, and Barletta falling on the invaders were repulsed, and the prisoners slain or mutilated; from Melfi the people fled, and at Trani they welcomed Lothar with joy. Here a Norman fleet of thirty-three ships tried to arrest

the Venetian flotilla, but eight of them were sunk, and the rest driven to flight.

Apulia showed little real zeal for Roger. The Emperor was able to enter Bari amid the joy of the citizens, who had already begun to besiege the royalist garrison. The latter consisted mainly of the detested Saracens; conscious they deserved no quarter, they now offered the most determined resistance. It was the Whitsuntide of 1137 when Lothar entered the Apulian capital; and at the same moment Henry of Bavaria reached the common rendezvous.

The Duke's march had been eventful and victorious. From Mugello he had to advance sword in hand and compel the submission of Florence; while Lucca only acknowledged him through the intervention of Bernard, and the fear of being given up to its rival Pisa. When he reached Grosseto, he had subjected all the margraviate of Tuscany, and here Innocent came to meet him and accompany him. The Duke acted as if he were conquering the country in the Emperor's name; on the other hand the Pope was now in a country claimed for the Patrimony, and his object was, by diplomacy, rather to secure submission to the rightful Pontiff, than to hand over his compatriots to the vengeance of northern barbarians. When, therefore, at Viterbo, Innocent, having induced the partisans of Anacletus to submit, claimed the city as its lord, the disgust of the Germans showed itself in deep and ominous growls. But the march

went on; Sutri was won; Rome was as yet too much of a hornet's nest to venture into, but Albano submitted, and all Campania recognised the Duke and the Pope. At Anagni (6th May, 1137), the host crossed into Capuan territory and next pitched its tents under the hill of Monte Cassino.

The possession of the great frontier abbey was all-important for both sides. Within the walls there had reigned constant confusion since the death of the Abbot Seniorectus a few months previously. Seniorectus had been a partisan of Roger and the Camerarius Jocelyn had been able to turn the abbey almost into a royal fortress. On hearing of the Abbot's death (10th February, 1137), he hastened to Monte Cassino, towards which two thousand German horse were also on their way. Stationing his troops around the hill, he attempted to force an election on his own authority, scoffing at a copy which was shown him of the Constitution of S. Benedict, and declaring that to proceed according to that rule was, at such a time, out of place. On Henry's approach however he retired and made no offer of battle.

One party of the monks now chose a certain Rainald of Tuscany who held to Roger and later received consecration from Anacletus; a second party elected another Rainald, of Collemezzo, who laboured to secure the abbey for the Emperor. Armed resistance from captains in the service of Roger's Rainald met Henry as he advanced, and he encamped eleven days at the foot of the hill

without being able to storm the high and well-defended walls or settle the disputed election. Finally, as time pressed, the Duke promised to leave the abbey to the Tuscan, upon whom he conferred some presents; the imperial banner was then unfolded over the walls. Rainald next received letters from Lothar, ordering him to expel those who adhered to the fealty of the Sicilian, but probably a German abbot was already meditated.¹ Innocent, little content, followed the ducal banner towards Capua. Here, too, Roger's authority vanished. Robert was with the army; to avert any sack of his capital by the Bavarian, he paid him four thousand pounds and entered Capua amid the joy of his former subjects. The city and duchy being once more in his hands, he followed the Duke to Benevento, to witness further triumphs.

On the 21st May, the imperial army came before the walls of Benevento, and camped on St. Peter's plain. The Cardinal Crescentius was within the city at the head of the victorious party of Anacletus; they were ill-advised enough at his command to go out and oppose the Germans, rashly expecting to strike terror into the latter. Once again the German knights carried the field in one short rush "with the quickness and savagery of lions," as the presumptuous burghers found to their cost, and drove them over the bridge. Crescentius after a bloody fray in the streets was taken by one

¹ *Bibliotheca Rer. Germ.*, ed. Jaffé, vol. i., p. 81.

Jacquintus and handed over to Innocent; the city surrendered to the Pope; and Cardinal Girard was appointed to govern it once more.

Leaving Benevento unentered, the Duke of Bavaria set out on the long march over the backbone of the Apennines into Apulia, and, opposed only by Troia, came down into the plains to meet his Emperor at Bari.

The doom of Roger's garrison was now certain. The citadel fell at the end of June; the engineers of the besiegers boring mines under the walls, firing the wooden supports of the tunnels, and so bringing down a part of the fortress in one great breach. The Saracens, overwhelmed by the attack, were all slain or taken; the prisoners were hung on gallows round the citadel, mutilated, massacred, or flung into the sea.

As one by one Monte Cassino, Capua, Benevento, and Bari fell, Roger's courage was shaken. It is inexplicable that his armies under the Chancellor Robert and his own sons, the fleet which had the genius of the Antiochene at its command, offered or made so little effective resistance. Now, when the whole seacoast as far as Taranto seemed lost, he resorted to crafty negotiations with the Emperor. At Bari his messengers offered to separate Sicily and Italy, Apulia going as the appanage of the young Roger, who should hold it of the Emperor. The offer, which had something of the touch of a Napoleon in it and which would not have survived Lothar's retreat, was contemptu-



SCENES IN THE LIFE OF ROGER II FROM CARICATURES IN THE BERNE MANUSCRIPT OF PETER OF EBOLI

1. ROGER MARRIES ALBRIDA (ELVIRA)
2. ROGER MARRIES SIBYLLA OF BURGUNDY
3. ROGER MARRIES BEATRICE OF RETHAL

(WITH ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO ISTITUTO STORICO ITALIANO FONTI, PER LA *Storia d'Italia*, ED. SIRAGUSA)

ously rejected. He could only hope for some advantage out of the feud of Hohenstaufen and Bavaria, which was smouldering in the imperial camp; in the existing differences between Henry and Innocent; in the whole question as to whose South Italy was to be. For the dividing of the lion's skin was bound to be the difficulty of the whole undertaking. Putting aside the powerless pretensions of Byzantium, Lothar claimed the Regno in virtue of Otto the Great's installing of Pandulf Iron-Head in Capua, and Conrad the Second's investing the old Rainulf with Aversa, while Innocent could counter-claim among other things by a reminder that Richard and Guiscard had both been invested by the Papal Curia in 1059.

Roger, as was his custom, refrained from putting the case to the judgment of battle as Harold Godwinson or a Manfred would have done; here and there Norman horse skirmished with the Germans, but the King trusted once more to his old ally, the murderous summer heat of Apulia.

Lothar, leaving the burning seacoast, turned to the right into the tablelands. Melfi fell at the end of June, and the Emperor, moving south through "stony Apulia," halted to rest with the Pope by the cool shores of Lago Pesole. Thence, to the vast relief of Roger, he advanced no farther southward. At Melfi, on the 29th July, he had assembled the barons of Apulia to discuss, we know not in what terms, the future settlement of the

province. At Lago Pesole, the old Emperor and the stiff-necked Innocent came to bitter words. Rainald of Tuscany and some monks among whom was the historian Peter the Deacon appeared; still under the ban of the Pope, who had excommunicated all in Monte Cassino who had in the slightest degree trafficked with Anacletus, they were well received by the Emperor, to whose predecessors the famous abbey had always been in homage. The Pope demanded a complete abjuring of the anti-pope, and unreserved fealty and homage to himself, if not then the deposition of Rainald. After a week of controversy between Pope and Emperor and Pope and abbot, Innocent had to abandon the demand for deposition and for homage, but the abbot and monks must solemnly abjure Anacletus, and promise spiritual obedience to the lawfully elected bishops of Rome.

It was now in the west that the war seemed about to be decided. The attack on Apulia was covered by an attack on Salerno and a descent was meditated upon Sicily, in which Robert of Capua, with a Pisan fleet, was to show his parts. At the same time the long-prayed-for relief came to Naples; early in July a hundred Pisan ships occupied Sorrento and Ischia, and fell upon Amalfi with every hope of a glorious sack; but the city promptly claimed imperial protection, and escaped its doom. Ravello and Scala its daughters, however, were cruelly sacked for several days. The appearance of Pisa, on this occasion, was due

to Wibald of Stablo who was successful in securing both that city and Genoa for the crusade against Roger.

On the 17th July, Salerno was besieged in full force; Neapolitan ships joined gladly with the Pisans, Genoese, and Amalfitans, 480 ships in all, in cutting it off by sea; Robert of Capua threw an army round it from the land, and Henry of Bavaria, who had returned from Lago Pesole with one thousand Germans, joined him on the 24th. The siege of Roger's mainland capital was vigorous but brief. Salerno alone of all the seacoast towns was loyal to Roger; it was held by the new Chancellor, Robert of Selby, a valiant and devoted man, with four hundred knights and forty galleys. On the 8th August, the Emperor himself and the Pope arrived by Avellino and San Severino, and joined in the siege. The Pisans now seemed about to end the resistance of the city; they had built wooden towers high overlooking the walls, and proceeded to shatter them with discharges of stones. But they were baulked by the timely submission of the Salernitans on the next day after Lothar's arrival; for a sum of gold, the Emperor put the city under his protection, and granted to Robert free exit. The latter, however, retired, with the four hundred and those who were faithful still, to the castle behind the town.

The surrender threw the Pisans into fury. They had been cheated at the last moment both of booty and revenge. By a sudden *volte-face*, they

began to correspond with Robert the Chancellor the moment that Pope and Emperor departed (15th August); they entered into terms of peace with Roger himself; and on September 15th, carried back to Pisa the fleet which should have taken the Prince of Capua to the capture of Palermo.

Count Rainulf was now in the Campania, gathering an army. He had gone to Lago Pesole with Duke Henry and had returned with him, perhaps made aware of the destiny that awaited him. Towards the end of August, he hastened to San Severino to meet the Emperor and Pope, and now Lothar, old and failing, raised the question of the future governance of the conquered country. There must be a new Duke of Apulia; Robert of Capua was already a powerful prince, and was not the man to withstand Roger; the only possible choice was Rainulf, whom all knew as a gallant and fearless soldier, and, at least in the field, a match for the Sicilian. But whose man was he to be? Lothar looked upon Southern Italy as his by imperial right and recent conquest: had not Bari and Salerno yielded to the Emperor alone? Innocent asserted that the conquest of the land had been a conquest in the interests of St. Peter. The dispute was settled by a compromise little worthy of the dignity of the temporal and spiritual lords of Europe: Rainulf was invested Duke of Apulia with a pennoned lance; in conferring it upon him, the Pope held the point, the Emperor the shaft.

It remained now to give the new Duke an army against Roger's return. He was granted eight hundred German knights; he despatched them at once under his brothers Richard and Alexander to Apulia, which they secured from Bari to Brindisi.

The question of Benevento, Capua, and Monte Cassino still remained to be settled. On the 3rd of September, Innocent entered Benevento with great pomp, while the Emperor remained in his camp on the Calore. The Pope declared Anacletus's archbishop deposed and consecrated in his place a certain Gregory. At the request of the citizens, and with Lothar's aid, he summoned to his presence Roger of Ariano, the local Count, a partisan of Roger, and forced both him and his vassals to forswear for the future a long list of feudal exactions such as made the Normans from their first coming in detested by burghers and peasants.¹

On the 9th of that month, Pope and Emperor were entertained by Robert at Capua. From there the road took them to San Germano; here Innocent, Bernard, and their partisans gathered in force; while first the Empress, and then Lothar, visited for their souls' sake the steep Monte Cassino. Again the struggle over the abbey revived; the cardinals at last secured the deposition of the untrustworthy Rainald, and he laid down ring and staff on the relics of St. Benedict. In his place the monks chose the German Wibald of Stablo, a

¹ Falco, 1136.

favourite counsellor of the Emperor, who informed the Pope in plain words that he must make no question of the right of the monks to elect freely or of the Imperial dependence of the abbey. Wibald, a Lorrainer, and a man of great vigour both in pen, speech, and deed, might be counted on to hold his ground, if any man could, against the Sicilian, whom then and afterwards he steadily refused to acknowledge. The new abbot followed Lothar to Aquino on the border of the Norman lands, where Robert, Rainulf, and the Campanian vassals swore homage for such abbey lands as they held, to Wibald, and saw the last of the Emperor, whose departure meant in effect the ruin of their cause.

With the premonitions of death upon him, the old German hero took the homeward road. The sword had to clear the way returning, as in coming; near as Pope and Emperor marched by Rome, where Anacletus and his patrician supporters were yet strongly posted, they did not enter the city; at Farfa the pair bade one another farewell; Innocent, returning, was able to enter Rome and take up his residence in the Vatican; and Lothar, with an army half disbanded, reached and crossed the Brenner at the end of November. It was granted him to see the Fatherland again, but as a dying man; on December 3, 1137, he passed away at the little village of Breitenwang in the Tyrol.

Of a true piety, brave and skilled in the field, a lover of peace and merciful according to the

standard of the age, elected Emperor when sixty years old, Lothar had laboured valiantly for twelve years to heal the ills of Germany, to secure the Land Peace, to bring the princely feuds to an end, to keep Church and Empire in unity. He was interred in the abbey of Lutter, and a leaden tablet was buried with him, on which was inscribed:

“Lothar, by God’s Grace Roman Emperor, increaser of the Empire, ruled twelve years three months and three days; a man at all times faithful, true, constant in Christ, a lover of peace, an indomitable warrior, died on the 3rd December on the return home from Apulia after the overthrow and expulsion of the Saracens.”¹

The “half-heathen” King, the master of Moslem hordes, as the old Emperor in life and death styled him, had meanwhile undone most of Lothar’s work.

In the beginning of October, Roger landed again in Salerno. The royal wrath was loosed again on the land, and, the Germans having abandoned them, the insurgents could make no enduring fight. Nocera was taken; Capua, hastily abandoned by Robert, was put to the sack. Sergius once more returned to his former fealty, but it seems to have bound him only and not Naples.

The completeness of Roger’s revenge and the wholesale nature of the reaction find vivid illustration in the letters with which Wibald from Monte

¹ Giesebrecht, *op cit.*, vol. iv., p. 150.

Cassino sought aid from the retreating Emperor. What horrors he and his Church suffer from the impious races of Normans, Lombards, Saracens, and from Roger the King of the Normans, pen can neither write nor tongue speak. They destroy the fruit trees and vines; they fill the land with fire and slaughter, and those whom the sword spares captivity awaits. Only the walls of Monte Cassino are left as a refuge, even there Roger puts the monks to the sword or to torture. The barons of Campania who swore homage to St. Benedict and to the Empire are every whit as bad. Telese, Alife, even Capua, the glory of Campania, are reduced to ashes; their people destroyed; their gold, silver, and gems taken away. In mockery the oppressors answer to every complaint: "Where is your Emperor now?"¹

One deed of arms more was to throw a final glory upon the desperate cause of Rainulf. In Apulia the new Duke had summoned together fifteen hundred knights, and many townsfolk of Troia and Melfi. With his young son Robert by his side, he exhorted all to die, or by victory to end their misfortunes. The opportunity was soon found. Roger, having subdued all the west, led his army over the Apennines, and faced Rainulf's force at Rignano, not far from Siponto in North Apulia. Bernard of Clairvaux was with the Duke; he strove to avert bloodshed, but Rainulf was bent on battle; Roger was elated with his

¹ *B. R. G.*, Jaffé, vol. ii., p. 84 *seq.*

many victories, and his troops were probably superior in numbers.

On October the 30th, 1137, the two armies came into action; the young Duke Roger, a gallant and headlong soldier, plunged with the vanguard upon the enemy's centre, and drove it back along the road to Siponto. The King led a second charge, but either owing to unexpected resistance or to unskilful handling his troops failed, and gave way; according to one account Roger was the first to fly. Duke Rainulf then hurled all his force upon the royalists, who were seized with utter panic; no quarter was observed, and 3000 of the defeated were left dead on the field. There, too, fighting by the side of the King, fell Sergius thirty-ninth Duke, and *Magister Militum* of Naples. So the last prince of a house, that had been illustrious for two centuries died in the service of a prince whose family was unknown to the world a century before.¹

A second Nocera had befallen Roger. But he was able to rally a few troops, and to ride unmolested over the mountains back into Salerno; while Rainulf, dismounted and kneeling, communicated the glad news to Bernard, in the little village where the saint was lodged.

Again Rainulf's victory had little fruit. Roger bided his time for Apulia; meanwhile Naples again suffered a siege; and Benevento and Monte Cassino were won back.

¹ Schipa, *Il ducato di Napoli*, *Arch. stor. nap.*, 1894, p. 471.

As regards the imperialist Abbot Wibald, a violent partisan, the King had sworn a great oath that he should be hanged like a common criminal if he were taken. Meanwhile Roger's partisan, Rainald, emerged from his obscurity and, supported by Landulf of San Giovanni, got hold of San Germano, and set himself to secure the abbey by force. In the beginning of November, Wibald realised that the Sicilian's victory was all but complete; he therefore determined to abandon his post, and return to Germany. He bade the monks choose a new abbot; he was departing, he said, for their sakes, not for his own; he would never return. After a tenure of a month and a day, he returned to Germany to become before long Abbot of Corbei, to remain the friend of the Emperor, and a copious letter writer, a foe to Roger as long as he could wield his pen.

The monks elected on November 14th the former Rainald of Collemezzo; he renewed the old alliance with Anacletus and Roger, and from this time the great abbey practically became a part of the kingdom.

Early in November, Benevento recognised the victorious King. The citizens were rewarded by a Royal Charter which was couched in ample terms, and sealed with a golden Bull, relieving the Beneventans from all the exactions which he and his Norman predecessors had levied on the contado and from the people and churches of the city; their possessions and houses were confirmed to

them with all their rights of fishing and hunting; the concessions were made from him and his heirs to them and their heirs.¹ Roger's language almost implied that the Papal city was his.

In the latter months of 1137, only Apulia resisted the King. The tension of affairs grew less, and it was obvious to all serious-minded men that the schism must come to an end. Roger himself offered to arbitrate, after an interview with Bernard, whose disinterested zeal for the unity of the Church he found it as hard to resist as it was impossible to escape the sting of the Abbot's words, "All Christendom favours Innocent, only you and your kingdom resist him." Roger's proposal was accepted; namely that three of Innocent's electors and three of Anacletus's should come to Salerno, where they should plead each their cause, and leave to the King the final judgment. For Innocent, there appeared at Salerno the Cardinals Almeric and Girard and the Abbot of Clairvaux; for Anacletus, the Cardinals Gregory, Peter of Pisa, and Matthew. For four days the case was thrashed out before the King; for his side, Bernard was naturally the spokesman. His defence of unity must have carried away even the partisans of Anacletus, were they not convinced that canonically Anacletus was as good a Pope as Innocent.

There is one faith one Lord, one baptism. The ark

¹ Falco, 1139.

which Peter steers, if it is of God, it shall be saved, and the ark which Innocent steers, if it is not of God, it must needs be that it sink: then shall the whole Eastern Church perish and all the West: France, Germany, Ireland, England and the barbarian kingdoms, shall be drowned in the depths of the sea.¹

Bernard's eloquence and satire did not however win Roger over; instead, he declared the case too difficult for him; therefore let one of each party go with him to Palermo to spend Christmas there, and discuss the case once more with him and his bishops. This also was agreed to, and Cardinal Guido, of Innocent's party, prepared to go with the King.

The further conference was never held. On January 7th, Pope Anacletus died. His cardinals hastened to Roger, who was then in Italy, and with his approval elected Gregory, who assumed the title Victor II. But it was plain to all that no excuse remained for prolonging the schism; Victor himself on May 29th laid down tiara and robes, and Innocent was left alone in the field. The King at once recognised Innocent, and ordered him to be proclaimed as Father and Lord in all his lands; the Pope, however, was not so easily won, and held to the excommunication under which Roger and all adherents of Anacletus lay. Nor

¹ *Ignoti monachi Cisterciensis S. Mariæ de Ferraria chronicon*, p. 23, in the *Monumenta* of the Soc. Napol. di Storia patria, Serie I., *Chronache* (1888).

would he abandon the faithful Rainulf, who still held Eastern Apulia and the territory of Bari.

The spring was marked by a pitiless expedition of the King in the neighbourhood of Benevento, Alife, and Ariano, in which Rainulf in vain tried to bring him to battle. In September, he was in Padula after subduing all Campania; and in the winter he returned to the pleasant gardens of Palermo.

The decisive year of the long crusade against Roger was 1139. On April the 4th a full Lateran Council was held, and Innocent, master of Rome, devoted to one common excommunication the Anacletans, Roger and his sons, and his bishops whom Anacletus had consecrated. But at the very moment there was withdrawn the one temporal champion whom Innocent could still command.

Duke Rainulf died of fever at Troia in the last days of April, and was buried in the cathedral of that town. Falco of Benevento gives a touching picture of the grief of the people of Bari, Melfi, and the towns which he had lately ruled.¹ The testimony of contemporaries is all to the credit of Roger's great opponent; as Duke, his short rule was mild and paternal; in battle he proved himself always the beau-ideal of knighthood; undoubtedly wronged by Roger he rose to the leadership of the feudal and civic insurgents against the King; it was a lost cause as events

¹ Anno 1139.

proved, but in all his adversities, he bore himself with honour, and, unsupported, twice drove his royal kinsman from the field of battle. His history has its pathos; such a man might have carried many a less promising cause to victory; but foreign support was necessary and proved but shortlived; Robert of Capua, his ally, was a man of straw; Rainulf himself lacked all legitimacy as Duke of Apulia; the towns and feudatories who were behind him were wanting in determination and loyalty; and he was left almost isolated before one of the greatest of kings.

The people whom Rainulf left leaderless had a double reason to lament him. Roger landed at Salerno at the end of May, summoned his army, and moved towards Benevento; his pleasure at the news of the Duke's death was unrestrained and devoid of chivalrous respect for the brave dead; he forgot, says Falco, the common lot of death for all men. Innocent at the same time was moving south, with an army of one thousand knights and numerous foot gathered from the Patrimony, and accompanied by Robert of Capua and Rainulf's brother, Richard. He was prepared for war, but ready to make peace; at San Germano, he was met first by royal emissaries and then by Roger himself, who came with his son and a military retinue. Eight days were spent in vain parleying; Innocent demanded, and the King refused point-blank, the restoration of Robert to his duchy. At the end, the King turned his army

aside for the siege of some local fortresses; the Pope, finding the way into the kingdom thus left open, marched aimlessly with his troops in ill order in the direction of Capua.

It seems to have been a deliberate move on Roger's part to entrap the Pope; wheeling his army round, he returned to the territory of San Germano, and posted himself near Mignano. The Pope's forces were in a defenceless position at Castel Galuccio; realising Roger's object, they began to march or retreat towards Mignano, perhaps with the hope of securing a safer position. The King's second stroke was now delivered; the young Duke Roger, with one thousand knights, burst in upon the Papalists from ambush. There followed the "Rout of Galuccio" (July 22, 1139); thousands were drowned in a wild flight across the Garigliano; Robert and Richard escaped; the highest prize, the Pope, and many cardinals were taken.

It was for Roger another Civitate; a result similar to the investing at Melfi was to follow. The Pope, lodged in a tent, was, according to one account, at first loaded by Roger with reproofs and insult, according to another, the King sought an audience in vain.¹ After three days, Innocent yielded; the treaty of Mignano represented on his part an almost complete surrender, and was for Roger a final legalisation of his kingdom. He was conceded all Campania from the upper

¹ Falco, 1139. Romuald, eodem anno.

Garigliano; a charter was drawn up which, overlooking the investiture of Anacletus, renewed and extended the grant of Honorius II. Naples and Benevento were scarcely touched upon; but the bulwark of Capua was surrendered.

That day, the 25th of July, Roger and his two sons appeared before the Pope, knelt before him, received absolution, and swore the oath of homage to the Holy See. The King himself was then invested by gonfanon with the kingdom, his eldest son with Apulia, his second, Alfonso, with Capua. The investiture complete, the new allies set out towards Benevento, as, two years before under far other circumstances, Lothar and the same Pope had done. At the end of June, Roger camped without the walls while Innocent entered the city; Benevento was all joy because a prospect of lasting peace had come for the storm-swept country. The same evening the King himself entered, and an eye-witness relates with detail his pious visits to the great churches of the city, his devout prostration before the altar of St. Mercurius in the abbey of St. Sophia, and his dutiful request of the monks to include him in their prayers, after which he left the city.¹ The harmony of Pope and King was undisturbed by Innocent's rejection of all terms with Roger's faithful partisan Archbishop Rossemannus, and his restoration of Gregory to the see of the city.

On the 1st of August, an embassy from Naples

¹ Falco, 1139.

came to Roger. Their city had suffered three sieges since 1130; its last native prince was dead; and the days of the ancient duchy were numbered. Even after the death of Sergius, indeed, the city had continued to acknowledge, in its public deeds, the overlordship of the "Great Emperor" of Constantinople; that last vestige of the Greek connection now vanished and the citizens accepted Roger as King and his second son as their Duke.

It still remained to crush the last relics of revolt in Apulia. In Bari, Jacquintus had succeeded Grimoald as Prince; the inhabitants, some 50,000 in number and counting among them 400 knights, continued even after Rainulf's death to dream of independence. Before the autumn closed, the King appeared over the Apennines. At Troia, Rainulf's last capital, the submission was immediate; the bishop and people sent out envoys to Roger, bidding him enter in peace like a King among his faithful lieges. To their request, he replied that he would never enter the city as long as the traitor Rainulf rested there; the people were therefore obliged to break the Duke's sepulchre, and cast it outside the walls. The insult to the dead was not enough; perhaps at Roger's own command, certainly at that of his courtiers, the knight who was known to have been the most devoted follower of the dead man was compelled to break the tomb, to take out the poor remnants, and, after dragging them by a rope through the streets, to sink the body in a pool outside the walls.

To the historian of the event it was a deed all the more horrible because Roger had never dared to face the living Rainulf in battle.¹

Bari was the last home of resistance. For two months it resisted the close siege; but thirty towers set up by the King made constant breaches in the strong walls, and at last forced the city to surrender. The original terms included mutual surrender of captives, but once more Roger found a motive for the most arbitrary revenge. A knight who had been in Bari during the siege had been blinded, so he complained to the King, by the orders of Jacquintus; it seemed cause enough for the King to withdraw from his contract; the Prince of Bari with ten or more councillors were at once hanged, and ten others blinded or mutilated.

Before returning to Sicily, the King held a great domes-day at Salerno; the lands of all his enemies were confiscated, and they were bound by the oath, which had become traditional since the Normans first came from over the Alps, to exile themselves "beyond the mountains." On October 4th, he sailed for Palermo. The year had heaped fortune upon fortune; the former dynasts of Capua, Naples, and Bari were dead or exiled; his one dangerous native rival was gone; the Regno from end to end was at his feet; the rightful Pope had declared his crown legitimate; and every wave of foreign invasion had ebbed away. Few princes have ever come so victoriously out of so great peril.

¹ Falco, 1139.

The task to which Roger set himself on his return in spring, 1140, to the mainland, was that of giving his kingdom a definite and scientific frontier. From the first he had claimed every inch of the northern borders which Guiscard and Richard of Aversa—for he posed also as the heir of the latter—at any time, or with the shallowest right, had claimed. In those days, Guiscard's nephew Robert of Loritello had carried his uncle's banner as far as the Pescara, and had governed, almost as if he were the man of no lord, between that river and the Biferno. Crossing the mountains, the frontier of the Regno would now run to the source of the Pescara, then to Lake Fucino, then to the upper Garigliano and down the course of that river, to divide the Patrimony and the King at Ceperano and Terracina. On the north-east, the Pescara itself would not satisfy Roger; he looked to weld the farther as well as the nearer Abruzzi into the kingdom, and sought reasons in the attack made by Guiscard or his lieutenants upon the march of Fermo, and the duchy of Spoleto, before 1078. Between Capuan and Papal lands the frontier too was vague; deep within the frontier, the little Papal enclave of Benevento broke the unity of the Regno. The defining of the frontier must lead to war with the Pope, but Roger did not mean to end his reign as a vassal of Rome.

In the spring of 1140, Alfonso was sent across the Pescara with a great army; joined later by Duke Roger, the two began the subjection of the Marsian

territories and the old duchy of Spoleto. Their raids carried fire and sword as far north as Sora and Arce, and west to Ceprano and the Papal border.

Innocent, like Gregory VII., saw not only his own territories in danger, but the insatiable Normans renewing the exploits of eighty years before, and spreading far up the east coast. To the Pope's indignant protest, Roger would only reply, "we are making no attacks on the lands of others but only on what belongs to us of right."¹ In June, he sought an interview at Benevento. The Pope refused; moreover he was filled with anger because Roger's bishop's, consecrated by Anacletus, still held their offices; Roger also claimed and exercised the appointing of bishops, a high presumption and a scandal to all Cluniacs. Again the situation was a deadlock; to the Pope's demand that royal investiture should cease, Roger replied, "This custom has been since the time of the Dukes Guiscard, Roger, and William and we will in no way surrender it."²

So kingly a bearing became a man who had no sooner conquered than he began to reorganise and restore. "The land," says the historian, "grew silent in his sight"; but the disappearance of every foe was followed also by the disappearance

¹ Falco, 1140. The answer of Roger's sons to the Papal protest was that the Marsiæ belonged of right to the duchy of Capua.

² Falco, 1142; *Chron. Ferrar.*, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

of the savage methods which had struck such terror, and the revelation of his instinct for power joined with order.

In August, the King recalled the princes from the lands which they had so vigorously conquered and set out on a march of conciliation into the north-east; on the 27th of the month he was at Chieti, on the 28th at the abbey of Casauria. After scattering privileges upon the abbeys and churches of the land which now saw the royal face for the first and last time, he returned with his chancellor to the south.

In September, 1140, he held at Ariano a great Court Day for his bishops and barons. The final glory and triumph of the monarchy were reflected in the feudal assembly that obeyed the summons. In their midst Roger promulgated to all his kingdom a body of laws which are unique in the history of the early mediæval centuries, touching on royal authority, on his nobles and the Church, on the many races who are his subjects, a display of the kingly power and intention, made before the assembled barons of his realm, and in the most public fashion, that all men might know that he was the King. It was followed by a second great act of authority: the promulgation of a new and universal coinage for his kingdom which was to override all local monies; the new coin was given the name of ducat. After the Ariano day came the "joyous entry" into Naples, a vivid account of which comes to us from one who was, perhaps,

a witness. As the King approached, the knights and leading citizens went out to meet him, and brought him with every mark of honour and joy to the Capuan gate. There the archbishop and clergy of the city met him with hymns and songs of praise, after which they formed a procession before him, while the King rode in with four noble knights holding his bridle, and four others forming a guard, until the episcopal palace was reached. The city was full of rejoicing crowds; one would have sworn, says the writer with a hint at Duke Sergius and Robert of Capua, already forgotten by a fickle people, that no emperor, king, or prince was ever received into Naples with such honours and rejoicings.¹

A naïve tale is told by the same Falco in which Roger exhibits that curiosity on matters of science which was so native to the King. After a thorough visitation of the city, he summoned the Neapolitan magnates, and discussed with them the liberties of the city; at the end of which conference he made a grant to each of the knights of five *modia* of land and five villeins. When Naples was all asleep and unsuspecting, the King emerged from his quarters, and set surveyors to measure the whole circumference of the walls from without, and so to discover the extent of the city, the result of which proved that Naples was 2363 paces in circumference. The next morning as the crowds pressed round him, Roger revealed the jest; he

¹ Falco, 1140.

began to ask of all what was the circumference of their city; the people had to confess that they were ignorant of so simple a fact. The affable King revealed the result of the experiment, and impressed the Neapolitans with a more than courtly amazement at his acute mind.

On October 4, 1140, the King departed for Palermo. He returned in the spring, 1141, to the eternal quarrel with Innocent over bishops and frontiers. It survived the death of Innocent, who ended his stormy life at the end of September, 1143; not the first of the Cluniac Popes to feel that, if "the tiara was splendid and felt like fire," it could become a weight of lead. Celestine II. took up the war with the King of whom the Roman Curia would have made a protégé, and after his death in March, 1144, Lucius II., the Cardinal Girard of the Beneventan struggle.

In June, 1144, Roger sailed into the harbour of Gaëta; the exact events of its submission are not clear but the frontier of his kingdom was henceforth fixed to the north-west at the old sea-republic, the sister once of a free Naples, Amalfi, Sorrento. On the other hand his attempt upon Terracina, following after the occupation of Gaëta, was repulsed by the allied forces of the Pope and the citizens. The King's sons received a roving commission against Papal territory; they beset Veroli, and burned and plundered within the borders of the Patrimony.

The struggle was ended by a seven-years' truce

with Rome; shortly after which (10th October, 1144), Prince Alfonso died, a youth who seems to have been of the dashing soldier type of his brother Roger.

The tide of conquest was finally stayed. The Regno had been carried to the Tronto; its frontier now ran from the Tronto mouth to Rieti and Lake Fucino, from that down the Garigliano to Ceprano, and again to the sea at Gaëta, the frontiers which, little changed, marked the kingdom for seven hundred years. Roger had given to the Regno geographical limits which, save to the north-west, might be called those set by nature: the sea on three sides, to the north the great mountain ramparts of the Abruzzi, and the lesser ranges that run back from the Garigliano into the backbone of Italy. A contemporary notices how nature favoured the unity of the Regno: the rivers of the frontiers could be crossed only by bridges, the mountains by passes; the bridges and passes were guarded by royal castles, as the coasts were studded with watch-towers watching the seas for hostile fleets.¹

The new kingdom had earned by the ten years' war its place among the nations. On no single point had its audacious ruler lowered his flag. Victor over so impressive a coalition, he remained the common foe of its constituents; above all, the majesty of the Holy Roman Empire could not forgive him. The new ruler in Germany, Conrad III., had all the pride of his ancient office against

¹ *Chron. Ferrar., op. cit.*, pp. 26, 27.

communal and royal parvenus. The Eastern Empire had to swallow her pride when this barbarian prince, receiving her envoys seeking aid against Roger, wrote as Emperor of the Romans to the King of the Greeks, and placed her under the wing of the German eagle in the most high-flown of language: "New Rome was the daughter of his realm; let those who do not honour the daughter fear the valour of the mother, whether Norman, Sicilian, or any other in any corner of the earth." As for Roger: "let the whole world hear and see how the robber shall be dashed to pieces who has risen up against our kingdoms: for by God's help will we once our wings are spread dash the enemy into flight and rend the insolent heart out of his body."¹ He was kept in mind of the Sicilian's iniquities by Wibald of Corbei, a man who never forgot the humiliations of his short stay at Monte Cassino.²

The vendetta was between Teuton and Latin. The Cluniac world of France saw little fault in Roger, after he was reconciled with the true Pope. His sins of royal investiture were overlooked for the peace he brought to his dominions; that he had saved Italy from the Germans was no less acceptable to those who, since Hildebrand, had

¹ Otto of Freising., *Gesta Friderici I.*, c. 23. *M. G. H. SS.*, t. xx., about the end of 1142.

² Jaffé, *B. R. Germ.*, vol., i., p. 368. Wibald, writing to Manuel about the league of the two Empires, says, "this Sicilian tyrant is the same man who expelled me from Monte Cassino and wished to destroy me."

looked to the national forces in Italy rather than to the Empire for deliverance. His old foe, Peter of Cluny, wrote to him, in 1142, a letter which is the highest of tributes to the new peace in the south:

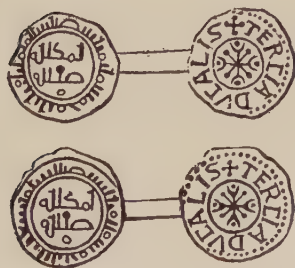
Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, before you the refuge and the robber dens of the Saracens, are now through you an abode of peace . . . they are become a magnificent kingdom, ruled by a second Solomon: would that also poor and unfortunate Tuscany, and the lands about it, might be joined to your dominion and enter into the peace of your kingdom! Then they might be no more regardless of God and man; towns, villages, and the churches of God might cease to be delivered up to slaughter; pilgrims, monks, clerics, abbots, bishops, and archbishops might be no longer captured, plundered, slain by the misdoers.¹

The noble Abbot of Clairvaux had retired to his cloister, when Roger had once shown himself ready to acknowledge the Pope; after that the King was no more his foe, and to him, also, Roger becomes a champion of righteousness, a patriot King in Italy. The relations between the two become gracious and affectionate. Roger offers to found a Cistercian abbey in his kingdom; he begs Bernard in person to visit his kingdom. The Abbot himself cannot come, but he sends some monks with letters of his; Roger receives them with royal magnificence, and founds a monastery

¹ *Epistolæ*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, t. clxxxix., lib. iv., no. 37.

for them in a delightful country. Bernard's thanks are conveyed in two gracious letters; other letters from him attest how Roger's fame has become world-wide; he rejoices that his humility has found favour in the royal eyes and gives advice on the government of the realm.¹ If Roger had still to fear Greek and German, he had ended his life-struggle as the friend of Cluny and Citeaux, as a King famous among the Latin nations.

¹ Caruso, *Bibl. Reg. Sicil.*, vol. ii., p. 976.



THIRD OF A DUCAT, ROGER II.

CHAPTER V

ROGER AND THE SECOND CRUSADE

THE Ariano day saw Roger surrounded with the full glory of a King; finally victorious over the barons and the towns, whose long resistance had been backed by the two great forces of Europe, the Empire and the Roman Church, and the sea powers of the north; able, for the first time, to give one law and one administration to the whole kingdom. In the last ten years of his life he takes a prominent place among the kings of Europe, and displays in foreign affairs a vigour as great as he had shown in his native policy.

It was the ever-burning question of the Holy Land which, after the investiture struggle, again occupied the minds of the most religious princes of the West. Only a short spell of glory and security had rewarded the valour and genius of Godfrey, Bohemund, Raymond, and the heroes of the First Crusade. The kingdom of Jerusalem, the principalities or counties of Edessa, Antioch, and Tripoli, had scarcely had time to take root, when the balance of victory between Moslem and

Christian began to tremble. The Latin crusade was at once succeeded by a Moslem crusade, as skilfully led and as heroically followed, and the more certain of ultimate victory because it drew its strength from native and internal sources. While the Christian colonists, intermingled with the native people, and degenerating under a climate unsuited to them, began to form the half-breed race which their own times called *Pullani*, the Syrian Moslems, inured to the sun and the hot plains, retained their martial virility. The Syrian Frankish princes began to show in lepers, in default of male heirs, in princes unworthy of their titles, a general degeneracy; while the Moslems found a succession of leaders worthy of the first days of Islam. Ill-supported from Europe, and interminably quarrelling among themselves, the rulers of the four petty states on the Syrian coast remained unconscious of the danger that threatened them, when, in the great hinterland, the Moslem principalities, whose feuds of Egypt and Bagdad and emir against emir had given victory to the Crusaders, began to close together by agreement or absorption into a single empire.

After various emirs had challenged the Christian advance on the borders of Hamah, Aleppo, and Damascus, the tide itself was turned by a Moslem prince who outshone them all in fortune and genius. In 1127, Imad-ed-dîn Zenki, son of an emir of Aleppo who acknowledged the suzerainty of the sultanate of Iconium or Rûm, was made by the

Sultan Mahmud *Atabeg* or "guardian" of his son Alp Arslan, and was further confided with the government of Mosul. Zenki, a man of Turkish race, had already become the hope of all who prayed for the expulsion of the Franks from the Holy Land; while still a youth, he had led a daring raid into the county of Antioch, and defiantly struck his lance against the very gates of its capital. A dauntless courage, great audacity, and a born instinct for dominion made his brief career one of great success; his son Nûr-ed-dîn, who proved himself as capable as his father, added to his inheritance the whole of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the interior behind the Latin states; the rising tide of Moslem unity and victory at last reached its height in Saladin, who died as master of the whole country from Mosul to the Orontes, and from the upper Euphrates to the deserts of Barca.

Entrenched in his emirate between the Tigris and the Euphrates, Zenki was successful in absorbing many of the petty states, little larger than towns, which surrounded him; the Moslem priests supported him, and proclaimed him the champion of Islam; the Moslem world behind him furnished him with abundant armies of adventurers, who entered with enthusiasm on the "Path of God", which was preached in every mosque and marketplace. The Frankish princes meanwhile made no attempt to unite against the danger which threatened to annihilate them.

Roger of Sicily had a double interest in the Holy

Land, and in the relations of the Christian West with the Moslem powers. As the ruler of an island largely Mohammedan, intent on maintaining there the balance of creeds and races, he was not inclined to a dangerous provocation of the power of Islam. He had indeed conquered a considerable extent of coast in Northern Africa, but more for security and the purposes of trade than the extermination or expulsion of the Moslems which the Western princes aimed at. His mind was little in sympathy with the crusading idea. But no crusade could be planned or executed without his being taken into account. His admirals had already made Sicily a naval power which, controlling the Tyrrhene Sea and the lower Adriatic, commanded all the sea routes to the Holy Land. The first crusading armies had straggled as far as Jerusalem by the long and dangerous land route of the Rhine, the Danube, the Greek Empire, and Iconium. The Second Crusade was to show that the land route was still favoured by the unwieldy armies of the Cross, but those who survived it were glad to return by sea; and in the interval of the two Crusades, it was by the Straits of Messina that pilgrims sought the Holy Land, that the military orders of the East were recruited from Europe, and that the Western countries maintained communications with the Frankish princes. The fleets of Moslem Egypt, the ships of the Greek Empire, had given way to Venice and the admirals of Sicily, and in his narrow seas Roger claimed a

sovereignty which every passing vessel had to acknowledge. He was placed in a commanding position for all crusading enterprises; as the ships of Venice, so the ships of Sicily might be commandeered to carry a whole army of relief to the Holy Land; the keys of the sea-gates between East and West were in his hands, and remained with his successors through the brief Norman period.

A personal interest also bound Roger with the Holy Land. In 1113, Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, in marrying Roger's mother, the widowed Adelaide, had promised that the young Count of Sicily should succeed him in the kingdom should he die without an heir by her. As we saw, Adelaide soon returned, a divorced and broken-hearted woman, and the promise was never fulfilled, yet her son never forgot that Jerusalem might have been his. Tenacious and ambitious as he was, he clung to a further possibility in the Holy Land. In Italy he had grasped the whole of what the Hautevilles and the house of Aversa had conquered; not content with this, he kept his eyes fixed upon that Syrian state which princes of his own blood had founded. The county of Antioch, created by his cousins Bohemund and Tancred, might well come into the hand that had united every Norman acquisition in Italy. When Bohemund II. departed for his eastern lordship in 1126, he had made, so it seems, a treaty of "cross remainder" with Duke William; as heir to the latter, Roger

succeeded to whatever advantage that treaty might entail.

As it happened, a vacancy did occur in Antioch. Bohemund II. was killed in Cilicia in 1130. He left only a daughter, Constance, to succeed him and the lack of a male heir suggested to Roger, quick to every possibility of dominion, that his own claim should be enforced. But claimants appeared for the place of husband and protector of the young heiress. Fulk of Anjou, King of Jerusalem (1131-1143), exercised his suzerain right and granted Raymond of Poitou, brother of the last Duke of Aquitaine, the principality of Antioch, promising him the hand of the young Constance. Raymond, who was then in France, embarked as soon as the message reached him; but it was with difficulty and in disguise that he reached the Holy Land, for Roger's galleys had orders to intercept one whom the King of Sicily regarded as a mere interloper.¹ Next the Basileus, John Comnenus, appeared before the walls of Antioch, having recovered in a successful campaign the sea-towns of Cilicia. He demanded that Raymond should do homage as Bohemund I. had done for Antioch, and claimed the hand of Constance for his son Manuel. Raymond gave way to his first request, but Constance remained within the impregnable walls of the city. Again, in the spring

¹ For these events see William of Tyre in *Receuil des historiens des Croisades*, t. i., l. ii., i., l. xi., cap. xxi., p. 488; l. xiv., cap. ix., and l. xii., cap. xii.

of 1142, the vigorous Emperor appeared before Antioch, with an army from Cilicia; he demanded that the city should be given to him as a stronghold against the Turks, but Raymond was proof against threats or petitions, and, after wasting all the neighbourhood, John retired from his last campaign.

An internal struggle meanwhile agitated Antioch, The Patriarch of the city, Radulf, was embroiled with some of his clergy; he headed a party also which was at variance with Raymond. At last the Patriarch resolved to carry his accumulated grievances to Rome. As he was a Calabrian by birth, he thought it safe to land at Brindisi (1138), but at the news of his arrival the Archbishop of Cosenza sent word to Roger informing him that a mortal enemy of his was practically in his power, "one of those who have robbed thee and thy heirs of Antioch for ever." Seized by Roger's orders, Radulf was brought before the King in Sicily, but violence was not part of Roger's design; the Patriarch was allowed to proceed to Rome. On his return, however, probably by arrangement, he passed through Sicily and was honourably entertained and dismissed by the King. It is obvious that he departed under a pledge to further Roger's hopes of succession in Antioch. All-victorious in Italy, the protector of Moslems and Greeks in his own dominions, of Moslems and Christians of the old African churches on the opposite coast, it was not a wild hope that Roger

might yet be Prince in Antioch and the protector of the native churches of Syria.

But now the struggle of Latin and Greek over Northern Syria, and the internal feuds of the Frankish princes, were eclipsed in a great disaster, the noise of which echoed to the farthest corners of the Christian and Moslem worlds.

The county of Edessa had been the first founded of the crusading states; Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, turning aside from the main army as it set its face in the autumn of 1097 towards Antioch, had penetrated as far eastward as Edessa, and after several preliminary conquests became lord of that city (March, 1098). His present successor in the county which he founded was Jocelyn II., an indolent prince, who neglected the defence of Edessa, and preferred a safer capital on the western side of the Euphrates. A dangerously remote outpost of the Latin states, Edessa was marked down for a great *coup de main* by Zenki. While Jocelyn was away at Antioch, and the Emperor John and Raymond were at swords drawn, the Atabeg appeared without warning before the gates of Edessa (28th November, 1144). The weak garrison of Frankish knights and Armenian men-at-arms held out for twenty-eight days against the onslaughts of the Turks, but at last the latter entered the city through the breach where Zenki's siege towers had levelled the wall (23d December). The troops and the inhabitants without distinction were put to the sword; but

after three hours the Atabeg stopped the slaughter, and granted to the survivors their lives, property, and the exercise of their religion.

The fall of Edessa was the first of the hammer-strokes before which the Frankish states crumbled away. The news of it spread general consternation both in the Holy Land and in Europe. The county had been the farthest and most valuable outpost of the Latin colonies, protecting like a rampart the states of Antioch and Tripoli from the pressure of Aleppo and Mosul. If the strategic loss was fatal, the moral effect was far-reaching. The Christians remembered that Edessa was a holy city, the capital of that King Abgarus who was credited with a letter to our Lord, the burial-place of St. Thomas. The Moslems heard the news in every land where Islam had followers, and rejoiced that the loss of Jerusalem, fifty years before, was avenged.

At the news the King of Jerusalem summoned in haste the prelates and barons of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and it was resolved to send without delay an appeal to the kings of the West, representing the perilous fortunes of the Frankish States. The appeal was carried to the Pope, as he lay at Viterbo during November, 1145, by Hugh, Bishop of Gabala. Eugenius realised the danger to which not only the Latin states, but also the Latin Church, were exposed in the East, and immediately sent off letters to the leading princes of Europe, but he was of a timid and reluctant

character, and unfitted to play Urban II.'s part in the First Crusade. But Europe was reached, at many points, by similar embassies from the East, and responded nobly to the appeal. Especially did France, the home of generous ideas, answer to the cry for help of the Syrian Franks, and St. Bernard took from the hands of the Pope the preaching of the Second Crusade. Eugenius, at war with the Roman commune, appointed him to promote the cause in Germany and France, and Bernard emerged from his cloister with all the zeal and untiring skill which he had formerly opposed to the party of Anacletus. At Vézelay, near Nevers, in Easter, 1146, Louis VII. and all his magnates met to resolve on the great question, and Bernard appeared in the open air, seated by the King's side. To the vigour and eloquence of his appeal for a Crusade, the generous minds of the French nobles made no resistance; filled with enthusiasm against the Turks, they tore their cloaks into crosses, Louis himself, foremost of all, took the oath of a Crusader.

The French King was now twenty-five years old, but a serious and even gloomy mind made him seem older than his years; his monkish piety was a source of bitter jest to his high-spirited young wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine. Louis was already at heart pledged to a Crusade, and to fulfil the vow taken by his brother Philip to go to the Holy Land, a vow prevented by premature death. Moreover, a dark deed weighed down the con-

science of Louis, and demanded a great atonement. In 1143, he had been at war with Theobald, Count of Champagne; during the capture of Vitry by his troops, the church had been burnt to the ground, and a thousand men and women had perished in the flames. All things, therefore, urged the Crusade upon Louis, and it was fortunate that, in leaving France for the Holy Land, he had in the Abbot Suger a man competent to govern well in his absence.

Through the midst of a whole nation devoting themselves to the Holy War, Bernard passed into the Rhineland, and met King Conrad at Frankfurt (end of November, 1146).

Here was a harder task for the preacher of the Crusade. Conrad was a man of knightly spirit and valour, but undecided in mind and weak in resolution; above all he was anxious to prove himself in Germany and in Italy; the precious time which Bernard urged him to devote to the Holy Land might be far better spent in bringing Roger and his upstart kingdom to submission; or settling the feud of Welf and Staufer in the Fatherland. Bernard, as wise and tenacious as he was enthusiastic, waited his time. At Speyer, on the 27th of December, 1146, Bernard was celebrating mass before the King and his nobles; suddenly he broke into an impassioned appeal; he spoke of all the gifts with which the Lord had dowered his hearer: the power and the kingdom; all external and spiritual abundance; worship

among men and strength of body; and now how would he answer to God for the employment of these gifts? The King answered amid his tears: "I acknowledge the gifts of the Divine Grace and will no more be found ungrateful. That which I am commanded to do by the Lord I am willing to do for His service." When Bernard handed to the King from off the altar a holy banner, one great shout of joy went up, and numerous princes and lords pledged themselves to the Cross.

His errand finished swiftly and successfully, the Abbot of Clairvaux returned once more to his cloister, wonders and miracles of healing following the steps of the man of God wherever he came. While every corner of Europe was full of the Crusade, he himself had pledged the two greatest kings of the West to command and direct the armed enthusiasm which set its face eastward. In every sense the Second Crusade was his work; it was he more than any other man who roused Western Europe to the appeal of the East, and his was to be whatever glory or shame was to attend the cause.

Throughout the winter of 1146-7, Germany, France, and, to a lesser degree, England, Spain, and Scandinavia, were occupied in equipping the multitudes who had taken the Cross. One kingdom showed no symptoms of the crusading fever, and one King, at least, meant to take no personal share in the enterprise. Roger II.'s activities were mainly concerned with his new realm, his concrete

mind was not to be carried away by religious enthusiasm, and in any case no reproach could fall on a prince whose fleets had subdued a large extent of Moslem Africa. But the Crusade might be made to serve his own ends. It had already lightened the pressure of foreign relations, and diverted Conrad from his hope of descending over the Alps and moving upon Roger's kingdom. In alliance with the German King, Byzantine fleets might now be landing the troops of the Basileus upon the Apulian coast; Greek envoys were at the time in Germany seeking an alliance of the two Empires against him. The Pope was still at war with Roger, but he could now look for no "Rome-journey" which would end in Conrad's suppressing the Roman commune, and avenging him upon the Sicilian; Eugenius could almost grudge a Crusade which meant a prolongation of his exile. But Roger might hope for positive results also from the Crusade; the essence of his policy was an alliance with the royal house of France against the Holy Roman Empire, the foe of both, and against the Empire of the East, the traditional enemy of the Norman kingdom. France indeed seemed the appropriate ally; out of her had come the first conquerors of Apulia; in her borders, as in Italy, monarchy was slowly bridling feudalism. Once friends with Louis, Roger could deliver, rather than await, the attack of Constantinople.

The position of the Greek Empire in the Crusade was a delicate one. On the one hand, she was

desirous to see the Turkish advance checked by Frankish chivalry, and to unite with her fleets the armies of Germany, in order to check the aggression of the Normans, which was as dangerous to her now as in the days of Guiscard. On the other, she remembered with what a dangerous cupidity the leaders of the First Crusade had looked upon her capital, and now again the crusading armies, whether French or German, might be tempted to diverge and seize the glittering prize of Constantinople. She trusted, however, to her diplomatists to handle the situation with their traditional skill.

At Châlons, 2d of February, 1147, where Louis and Bernard received envoys from Conrad to deliberate which way the Crusaders should take, there appeared also delegates from the Basileus Manuel, offering a friendly reception for the armies if they should march through Hungary, and down the Danube towards the Bosphorus, over which they might cross into Asia Minor; the secret hope of the Greeks being, that the Crusaders would recover the kingdom of Rûm for the Empire.

On the other hand, Roger sent envoys to Louis at Étampes (16 February, 1147); they offered provisions and transports if the French would take the sea route to the Holy Land. The King of Sicily's object was something subtler than a mere wish to further the Crusade, or to induce a vast crusading host to hire the ships, and stir the markets, of his kingdom. The French armies

once embarked upon his transports, he might have turned the purpose of the French King to a great attack upon the Greek Empire, or upon Constantinople, while the Emperors of East and West should be deliberating there; and so at once have checked their designs against him, and carried out his uncle's ambition, the conquest or dismemberment of Greece. At least he might have made use of Louis in the Holy Land itself; and secured Antioch by his aid.

His plans however came to naught. The French King decided to follow the German host along the route taken by the First Crusade. On the 8th June, 1147, Conrad entered upon Hungarian soil, and in time, turning south from the Danube, arrived before Constantinople (10th September). The Byzantine diplomatists showed their skill in dealing with so great and undisciplined a host; ships were provided, and at the end of September the Greeks saw with relief the Teutons leaving for the Asiatic shore. A few days after, Louis and the French Crusaders neared the walls of the Greek capital.

Manuel had already suspected the alliance between Roger and the French King. At Regensburg two imperial envoys had already demanded that if the French should conquer any former possession of the Empire from the Turks, they should hand it over to the Basileus; otherwise the Greeks would provide no provisions or guide. But Louis had given no assurance on the point,

and was now at the gates of Constantinople. Manuel's fear of the French was increased to a degree when the news came at the same moment that the Normans had made a sudden attack upon his western coast.

In the autumn of 1147, a powerful fleet left Otranto under command of George of Antioch; the nucleus of this armada was formed of galleys built with two or three banks of oars (biremes and triremes); a great number of transports carried the army with all its equipment. Again Corfu fell into Norman hands, its inhabitants readily forswearing their allegiance to the Basileus, and a garrison was installed in the high rock-fortress that commanded the island. Hence a series of plundering raids wasted the coasts of Acarnania and Ætolia, while Methone, Cephalonia, and other islands were occupied. The main fleet then turned its prow to the Bay of Crissæon; from this basis Chalcis, Eubœa, and Athens were harassed by piratical visits.

The blow had been timed for the moment when Louis, the unofficial ally of Sicily, should be at the gates of Constantinople, and Conrad, the hereditary enemy, should be entering the wilds of Rûm: it was a moment most critical for Manuel. For the French host, straggling from Philipopolis to the capital, was filled with dangerous resentment towards the Greeks. The crusading soldiers, seeking provisions or arms from the natives, had been on several occasions roughly handled. It

was known to the leaders of the French that Manuel had lately sworn a truce of twelve years with the very Sultan of Iconium on whom they hoped first to whet their swords. They believed, too, that the Germans had been hurried over the Hellespont in order to divide them from the French host. For a moment an unworthy thought suggested itself to Louis, to fall back on Adrianople, unite with Roger, and, French army and Sicilian navy together, storm the weakly-defended walls of Constantinople. He advanced, however, and reached the gates of the capital on October the 4th, being received in peace, and with great pomp, by the Emperor. Yet still the danger to the city was not past. At a war-council held before the city, Geoffrey, Bishop of Langres, delivered a disgraceful and violent harangue. The French ought not to depart, but should use their forces against Constantinople. The walls were rotten, the people cowards; the city once taken, the whole Empire would fall. The Emperor deserved no consideration; like his fathers, he was a foe to the Christian religion; let his Empire be once overthrown, and the Christians in the Holy Land would be safe, whereas now they were in constant danger from Greek designs.

With such a medley of theological and racial bitterness, of the lust of barbarous adventurers and a discerning but immoral strategy, the warriors of the Fourth Crusade may have been fortified when, fifty-seven years later, they carried out the crime

thus advocated by Geoffrey. But Louis rejected so disgraceful a perversion of his vows, and in mid-October the French host crossed the Bosphorus. On the Asian shore they were provided with provisions and guides, taking in return an oath to restore every town or fortress, formerly belonging to the Empire, which they should conquer, and to do homage for all other conquests.

The Greek state was thus saved from deadly peril; the Basileus is said to have counted 900,000 Germans alone at the crossing of the straits; incredible as this is, the swarms of Crusaders, warlike, fanatical, and lawless, who streamed away into Asia Minor were sufficient in numbers alone to cast into the shade the standing armies of Byzantium.

Once he had seen the Crusaders depart, Manuel, a brave and knightly man, turned to face Roger, who in spite of his hopes found himself alone against the Byzantine. Roger's great hope had thus been frustrated. Nevertheless, his Admiral had struck already some rapid and successful strokes upon the Empire; the Antiochene, so far from withdrawing his fleet, directed a grand *coup de main* upon Corinth. Sailing into the harbour he landed an army which sacked Thebes before the merchants could get away with their treasures. It was a pure piece of piracy in which George of Antioch showed himself, according to a Greek historian of the event, both insatiable and inexorable. The booty was great, for Thebes was the

centre of the silk-weaving industry in the Greek Empire; as many as two thousand Jews alone were engaged in this craft in the city. The Antiochene plundered the place to its last penny and loaded his vessels so with captives, with gold and silver, and silken vestments, that his vessels sank as low as the third oar-bank in the water. Corinth itself, also a great industrial and mercantile centre, was next attacked and the citizens had to fly to Acro-Corinth where an imperial garrison held out under Nicephorus Caluphes. The Admiral taunted the Greek as "feebler than a woman and only fit to spin wool," but he failed to reduce the garrison and at once abandoned Corinth. Returning to Sicily, George entered the harbour of Palermo in triumph, his ships resembling the galleys of rich merchants rather than the pirate-craft that they actually were.¹ A lasting result of the raid was that the silk-workers among his captives were settled as a permanent colony in Palermo, where they established their industry.

Meanwhile tidings of complete disaster to the crusading armies came from Asia Minor. At Dorylæum the German host, halting through failure of provisions, was suddenly assaulted by swarms of Turkish horse-archers, and had to

¹ So says Nicetas Choniates maliciously, p. 99, *Corpus Script. hist. Byz.* For all these events see Dandolo, *Chron. Ven.*, R.I.SS., t. xii, and Odo de Diogilo, *de Ludovici VII. itinere*, Migne, *Patrolog.*, clxxxv., p. 1202 seq. Dr. Cohn's monograph (*Geschichte der normannisch-sicilischen Flotte*, 1060-1154: Breslau, 1910), p. 40 seq., is most helpful as regards Roger's naval policy.

fall back on Nicæa with the loss of 30,000 men. At this place Conrad and Louis met; the disaster eclipsed all feuds, and the two kings resolved to march in company along the coast to Smyrna. But at Ephesus Conrad fell ill, and returning to Constantinople, spent the winter in closest amity with the Emperor, sailing for the Holy Land in the spring.

Louis pushing on crossed the Meander, and at Mount Cadmus first trod Turkish soil. The advance of the army brought the French to a high mountain which opposed their march; Louis ordered them to rest on their arms till morning so that the crossing might be made by daylight. But the front division continued to advance while the hinder divisions stood irresolute; suddenly the Turkish cavalry rushed into the gap, and breaking the ranks of the rear-guard made terrible havoc among the infantry. Around Louis fell forty of his most distinguished nobles defending him at all cost, and only at nightfall did the Turks withdraw. The Templars were confided with the leadership of the shattered army, and led by these professional fighters the disheartened Crusaders marched sadly into the Greek city of Attalia (2d of February, 1148). Thence Greek ships carried Louis and his Queen to Antioch; his army was despatched by the land route and, constantly assailed by the Moslems, was but a remnant when it reached that city. The crusading hosts had been all but exterminated before they reached the Holy Land; the blame

was fastened mainly upon the Greek guides, and the old hatred of the Byzantines filled the hearts of all the survivors.

While these events took place, the Basileus was employed through the early months of 1148 in drawing together all his resources against the Normans. In March he won over the Venetians, by a grant of a Chrysobul enlarging their quarter in Constantinople, to put their fleet at his service. In the summer he sent an army through Thrace to the west coast, and in August, 1148, Corfu was besieged by the allied Byzantines and Venetians. A certain Theodorus, apparently a Greek, commanded for Roger; the siege, vigorously pressed and stubbornly resisted, lasted over a whole year.

Meanwhile the remnants of the crusading armies were streaming back through every port of the Eastern Mediterranean with one long tale of disaster to relate. The Frankish princes of the Holy Land proved almost as detestable as the Greeks. Orientalised, untrustworthy, divided by bitter feuds, they neither attempted nor desired a great inspired effort to save the Latin states. The Prince of Antioch, the Count of Tripoli, strove to enlist the aid of Louis for some purely local advantage, the reduction of Hamah or Aleppo. At Jerusalem, where Conrad, who had landed at Acre in April, joined Louis, the councillors of the young Baldwin advocated a joint attack on Damascus, a city of great importance and wealth, and strategically dangerous to Jerusalem. Yet its capture

seemed to the Western kings of only local importance; to them it appeared a better plan to recover Edessa, or win Ascalon, the key of Egypt, from the Moslems. Yet they consented finally to march against Damascus, and on the 24th of July, 1148, the three kings appeared before its walls.

The city was held by Anar, the vizir of its young prince; it was to his every interest to maintain friendship with the Franks, since the isolated independence of Damascus was threatened by Nûr-ed-dîn, son and successor of Zenki; on the other hand the reduction of the city would prove a doubtful advantage to the Frankish princes since it would destroy a useful buffer-state between Jerusalem and the Atabeg's empire. The siege was for a time hard-pressed; the Moslems displaying invincible obstinacy, and the Germans on the other side exhibiting a valour and a mode of war which impressed both friend and foe, springing from their horses when the fight began and pressing upon the foe with naked sword, the King at the head of them all. Finally the diplomacy of Anar and the double-dealing of the Syrian Franks ended the siege. The vizir represented to the latter that Nûr-ed-dîn was within a day's march; "unless you retire I will open the gates to him; Damascus is worth more to you in my hands than his; retire and I will gild over the shame of your retreat." Won over by such arguments, the Frankish princes induced the Western kings to move from the well-watered gardens of the north

and west to the arid and burning plains of the south-east.

The treason had the hoped-for result; the siege had to be abandoned, and on the 28th of July the Christians retired from Damascus. Nûr-ed-dîn occupied the city as they fell back, and the sole advantage remained with him. The Second Crusade therefore failed at all points, and left the power of the Atabegs still unchecked.

The autumn and winter of 1148 and the spring of 1149 saw numbers of the greatest princes of the West returning home by sea. In September, Conrad left Acre, and landing at Thessalonica accepted Manuel's invitation to spend the winter at Constantinople. At the same time he received with anger the news of Roger's attack upon his ally, and the failure of the Crusade inclined him all the more to seek glory in Italy for his tarnished sword. He entered, therefore, into the most binding engagement with Manuel; the Sicilian was to be overwhelmed by a double attack, and envoys were despatched to win over Pisa and Venice. In February, 1149, Conrad departed for Germany, touching only for a moment upon Italian soil at Ancona.

Manuel now came in person to press the siege of Corfu; the Greeks entered the fortress, but the Norman troops retired to the acropolis, which was of such a height that "the eye could scarcely measure it"; from here they poured down great stones and showers of darts "like fire showered

from heaven." The Venetian fleet, spread around the promontory, cut off aid from the sea, and the Greek archers kept up a continuous fire, "aiming their arrows almost as it were against heaven or against the clouds."¹

Louis meanwhile, having spent Easter in the Holy Land, set out homewards, full of anger against the Greeks and their ally Conrad. As the latter had avoided Roger, so Louis avoided the Greeks, and set his galleys towards Southern Italy. The French King's return revived Roger's hopes. At the moment George of Antioch was with sixty ships off Corfu attempting to raise the siege. He turned south apparently with orders to meet Louis and escort him to Palermo, where Roger hoped to strike a bargain with him that would be a set-off to the league of the two Empires. But a Greek fleet under the Admiral Churupes had already surrounded Louis's little flotilla off Cape Malea, the Greek commander disguising his design of taking the French King captive by inviting him to return "to visit his friend and brother in Constantinople." The Norman fleet next appeared on the scene, the Queen's galley was freed, and Louis, ascending one of George's ships, got away by the trick of hoisting the Venetian flag. George himself, though he seems to have lost twenty of his galleys in the fight, then set his course for the Bosphorus. Apparently unpursued,

¹ See Cinnamus, *op. cit.*, p. 98 *seq.*, for a vivid description of the siege.

he passed up the straits and appeared before Constantinople, where he threw fire-arrows against the Imperial Palace at Damalis and laid a suburb in ashes; after which piece of bravado he returned to the open sea. His next exploit was to fall upon a Greek fleet which was bringing the tribute home from Crete; after an indecisive fight, he made for Cape Malea, where he encountered the united fleets of Venice and the Empire in full force. According to a version which favours the Norman side, he sank or plundered nineteen galleys of the enemy, and followed the rest for some distance. Whatever the issue of these later fights, the Admiral's exploits had been brilliant; he had struck a blow at the very heart of the Greek Empire.

Louis meanwhile had landed on the Calabrian coast (29th of July, 1149). While he waited to be rejoined by Eleanor, whose galley had been wrecked at Palermo, the French King had a personal interview with Roger at Potenza (August probably). Legend represents Louis as placing the crown on the Sicilian's head, and the French barons swearing to aid him against the false Greeks. Actually we know nothing of the negotiations; finally Roger escorted Louis to Cephrano where he parted from him in the friendliest terms; the French King took his way through the Papal states, meeting Eugenius at Tivoli.

Only the aftermath of the war was left. Corfu was at last reduced by hunger, and Theodorus surrendered on honourable terms; the garrison were

allowed to depart with their arms and belongings while their commander who was apparently a Greek, entered the imperial service.¹

So vanished the ephemeral conquests on the Illyrian coast (end of 1149).

The two years' war between Norman and Greek exhausted both sides; it might have been expected that Manuel, free from the embarrassments of the Crusade, would have now delivered a counter-stroke upon Sicily. But the Venetians failed him; their half-heartedness as allies had probably prolonged the siege of Corfu, in the midst of which (1148) they had drawn themselves up on one occasion for battle against the Greeks, mocking at their allies on account of their dark faces, and boasting of the gold hair and white skins of their own women.²

Thus Roger's great design on the Greek Empire failed as completely as Guiscard's over fifty years before. In the East, also, Antioch remained in the hands of Raymond, whose son by Constance, Bohemund III., succeeded him finally in the county. Louis, indeed, had shown a favourable attitude, but he had passed away as the most unofficial of allies. Yet a negative triumph rewarded Roger's efforts. The Crusade had diverted Conrad from a descent upon the Norman kingdom; the attack on the Eastern Empire in

¹ "A man averse from bloodshed and to whom the Romans were dear." Nicetas, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

² *Ibid.*, p. 114.

1147 gave Roger the advantage of the aggressor, and helped to postpone the blow which both Empires meditated against him.

The diplomatic struggle which now followed between Roger and the King of the Romans is related elsewhere. But here one may show how the duel of the two survived the Crusade in which their mutual hostility had been crossed by the events of the Holy War, and how the demand for a new Crusade affected their relations in the future.

The thought of Sicily was a constant irritation to Conrad; could he only have freed himself from Wendish revolts in the east of Germany, Welf risings in the south, and private war everywhere he would certainly have undertaken the descent upon Italy, claimed the Imperial Crown at Rome, and marched against Roger. His court at Frankfort was full of Norman exiles such as Robert of Capua, Richard and Alexander, brothers of Duke Rainulf. A number of active correspondents were indefatigable in attempts to blow up the flames of a great war between Sicily and the Empire. Of these the most unappeasable was Wibald of Corvei; other epistles came from those whom he had left behind at Monte Cassino. Thus John the Notary wrote from Monte Cassino to Robert of Capua with the news that Welf of Bavaria, Roger, the Frangipani, even the Pope were in league against the Empire; the Cardinals in particular had boasted to Cencius Frangipani that they had driven out of Italy not only Robert's party, but the Greeks and

Venetians also. While the Norman "disinherited" reminded Conrad of Roger's triumphs in imperial territory, Roger entertained not a few of Conrad's rebels; he would have opened his court of Palermo to more of them, says a historian of the time, "except that the Germans were a race whose barbarism he could not endure."¹

Meanwhile Roger had become the hope of those whose hearts were set on a fresh Crusade, who despaired of rousing the rulers of France and Germany to a fresh effort and now looked to the third greatest prince of the West to retrieve the great defeat. Among those who returned from the Holy Land by Sicily was Cardinal Theodwin; kindly received there by Roger he continued to press on him the duty of taking up the cause of the Franks of Palestine. The King of Sicily, so long anathema to all the Hildebrandine party, became the favoured of princes to the Cluniac leaders. Of all the appeals to take the Cross the weightiest was that urged by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny; his letter is in the most dignified and pathetic terms. The Abbot has heard with sorrow of the death of the King's sons, and has ordered masses to be sung for them. He grieves over the King's quarrel with the two Empires. The minds of all in France are stirred by tales of the treachery of the Greeks; will not Roger himself carry on the Crusade to victory? The Abbot sees none under heaven of the Christian princes so well

¹ *Historia Pontificalis*, c. xxxii., *M. G. H. SS.*, t. xx., p. 538.

fitted as the King to undertake this task, so sacred to God, so desirable for the world.¹

The appeal was in vain. Not twice in one generation could such a movement as that of 1147 be successfully launched. As for Roger, the maker and guardian of a new kingdom which was so menaced from without, his vigilance could not be for a moment diverted.

Roger the Second's great design on Constantinople might seem to have been a mere flash in the pan had it been an isolated piece of Norman aggression against the Eastern Empire. But its significance lies in the fact that it was one of a long series of dangerous, persistent, and at last successful designs upon the independence and integrity of the ancient dominion of Byzantium. Guiscard himself had led the way when, in 1081, now fairly secure in Italy and master of a great fleet, he had made the Basileus tremble in his very capital. With forces as great, his son Bohemund had in 1107-8 pierced into the heart of the Empire and revived the old terror of the Normans. Roger II. was an antagonist more dangerous still; had the counsel of the Bishop of Langres been favoured, as it was repelled, the Greek dominion might have fallen in 1147. Again, in the summer of 1185 his grandson, William the Good, launched a great armada on the ancient foe; a land army of 80,000 men and a strong fleet took Durazzo once more, occupied Thessalonica after a desperate siege, and

¹ Caruso, *Bibl. Regn. Sic.* p. 977.,

advancing to the Strymon threatened the capital of Constantine itself. But there the Greeks turned the Normans to flight and the fourth great attack failed.

It was the last great enterprise of the Norman dynasty. But their heir, Henry VI., had at the moment of his death (1197) claimed a half of the Byzantine dominions as part of the Sicilian inheritance, and only his untimely end perhaps saved the decaying Empire. The real fruit of the long designs of Guiscard and his Norman successors was reaped in 1204, though by far other hands than theirs, when the ill-assorted warriors of the Fourth Crusade, forswearing their design against the Holy Land, took up as Guiscard had done before them the cause of a Greek claimant, and stormed the ancient capital of the Basileus. That Latin Empire of Constantinople, so bizarre in aspect, so disastrous in its results, which lingered on to 1261, was indirectly the work of Guiscard, Roger, and William, for it was they who made familiar to the West the idea of overthrowing the decaying and schismatic Empire of the Greeks.

CHAPTER VI

THE AFRICAN CONQUESTS. THE MAKERS OF THE KINGDOM

BY the close of 1149, the noise of the Crusade had rolled away. The King of Sicily abandoned the hopes which he had built on that great movement, the blow which he had planned against the hereditary enemy in Constantinople and the securing of the succession in Antioch. In spite of such a withdrawal, his power had attained a height from which it did not in his reign decline; on the north, he had pushed the limits of the Regno to the utmost; to the south his admirals were winning him an African empire. In his last years Roger was master of an Italian kingdom whose northern boundary ran from the sea between Gaëta and Terracina to Ceprano, Frosinone, Reate, and across to the source and mouth of the Tronto, inside which only the city of Benevento was not a part of the royal dominion. Of the islands of the Mediterranean, Malta and Gozo were his, and his authority extended along the African coast from Bona to Tripoli.



ROGER II'S CHURCH OF SAN GIOVANNI DEGLI EREMITI, PALERMO

PHOTO BY BROGI

The over-sea empire owed its existence to that naval organisation by which Roger had been able to shake the power of the Basileus at his own gates. The beginnings made by Guiscard of a fleet were resumed by the King, after two dukes of Apulia had left the dockyards idle. But his father before him had seen the necessity of a fleet, and both the "Great Count" and the "Great King," in the long building up of a kingdom, acted on the principle that a powerful fleet was as necessary as a feudal land-army. The providing of ships and men was insisted on in many cases as a condition of tenure, or as part of the terms made with a subjected town. Thus, in Sicily, the commune of Caltagirone had to provide every year two hundred and fifty men for service with the royal galleys; the Bishop of Lipari had a similar duty imposed on him. Amalfi, as the result of her surrender to Roger, had to place part of her fleet at his disposal, and the coast towns of Sicily and Lower Italy, to a greater or less degree, were bound to provide men and ships to the royal service. A few cities sold their ancient freedom at a price; Bari was free from naval service¹; Gaëta had only to provide two armed galleys at demand, which the King was to man; from Naples no sailor could be impressed, but if he were willing to serve he must be paid; the city itself was bound to provide one ship, to be equipped by the King.

¹ *Cod. diplom. bar.*, p. 137, No. 80, for the terms made with Roger on the submission of 1132.

Whatever was not provided by the terms of tenure or communal liberties was met by a wealthy exchequer; the fleets which followed George of Antioch or Christodulus to sea were drawn from Bari, Salerno, Amalfi, and all the coast towns of the kingdom, and manned by seamen of whom the larger portion received royal pay. In the organising of a war marine, as in many other things, it is probable that the Norman simply assumed the prerogatives and filled the vacant throne of the Arab and Greek princes who had gone before him. In Egypt, under the Fatimite khalifs, the governors of the provinces provided the greater part of the navy, the rest was raised by the "divan of naval armament"; it is possible that the system which their emirs had imposed upon Sicily was resumed by Roger.¹ The complete and intricate machinery of government, of which the King was the guiding hand, itself made provision for the naval department; we hear of a "Count of the Galleys" whose duty it is to supervise the fiefs and towns which have naval service imposed upon them. Finally, alone of the Latin-Teutonic nations of the West, the Sicilian kingdom evolved not only a great fleet, but an official to command it; the short but brilliant line of Norman-Sicilian admirals began.

It is probable that the office, no less than the name, was owed to the Moslems and to their "sea-emirs." However that may be, the office

¹ Amari, *S. D. M.*, vol. iii., p. 336.

sprang rapidly into honour from the day when Guiscard, having captured Palermo, placed a Norman *ammiratus* to govern it in place of its former emir. Once the capital was fixed at Palermo, the governor of the city would take on a greater importance even than the supervision of the Moslems, and the command of the city's ships, could give him.¹

It is remarkable that the first and the greatest of Roger's admirals were Greeks, in race and religion. The first emir of note is Eugenius, a Greek of Sicily, who in the reign of the Great Count was a notary of the court, and much in his master's confidence. It is rather to his translation into Latin of Ptolemy's *Optics*, than to any great feat of arms, that he owes his fame. His successor was Christodulus, who was the King's greatest officer between 1110 and 1130, but in the last six years of his life was eclipsed by George of Antioch. In 1110 Christodulus was already emir; he became soon *protonobilissimus* in the Curia and received lands in Calabria, where he was able to win the King's grace for the Greek churches. As *ammiratus* he became the first man at court, and summoned the Curia.

His adherence to the Greek Church makes it unlikely that Christodulus was a mere Moslem

¹ Amari, *B. A. S.*, t. iii., p. 350. For the dates of Roger's two greatest admirals see Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 98 *seq.*, who fixes the date of Christodulus's death as 1130 or certainly before 1131. For Eugenius see Chap. VIII.

renegade, in spite of the Arab writers calling him Abd-er-Rahman; a turncoat would certainly have embraced the Latin faith. Whatever his upbringing may have been, Christodulus was formidable to the Moslem princes through his knowledge of their countries. In 1123 he commanded the fleet which carried the army over to Al Mahdia; the result was a disaster, but the first attempt at an African empire was not allowed to be the last.

Christodulus was soon outshone by George of Antioch, who had commanded with him in the affair of 1123. In 1126 George was already *amiratus*; he rose rapidly in the favour of the King, who was strong enough to oppose to all his feudatories a man of low birth and of Moslem taint, who showed a genius for military and administrative, as well as for naval, command.

A new title was found for the Antiochene; in 1132 he styles himself "emir of emirs and archon of archons," and is high among the *domini curiæ* who form the privy council of the King. Like the other "lords of the Curia," George approached, in virtue of his office, very close to the sacred majesty itself; along with them he could travel throughout the kingdom at the royal expense, and appeared at court in a splendid and distinct costume, with a tiara upon his head not unlike the royal crown itself.¹

In some thirty years of service, George of An-

¹ See the Peter of Eboli caricatures for the costumes of the *domini curiæ*. Muratori, *R.I.S.S.*, N.S., xxxi., i., p. 2.

tioch made Roger's name dreaded among Greeks and Moslems, while his own personality finds more mention among friendly or hostile writers of the time than any of the Sicilian sea-captains of the century, if we except Margarito. The Arab writers, in particular, pay him the tribute of hostility and fear; a man who was so versed in Arabic and Moslem politics, who knew all their towns so well, seemed to them half a renegade, and a more than dangerous enemy. "He was," so they said, "a man such that no one would want to warm himself at the same fire with him," *i.e.*, he was no man to trust or trifle with. "This cursed fellow knew all the weak sides of Al Mahdîa and the other Moslem towns; he and his lord Roger practise continual craft against Al Mahdia."¹

The disaster of Al Mahdia in 1123 was followed by an intermission of active warfare and Roger's energies were soon turned to the mainland. But the thought of it remained a rankling memory, if not with Roger, at least with his more hot-blooded officers. One Abd-er-Rahman told the historian Abu-as-Salt that he had seen at the court of Roger,

a Frank, heavily bearded, who tore with his hands the point of his beard, swearing by the Gospels that he would never cut a hair of it until vengeance had been taken on the people of Al Mahdia. I was told that in that defeat of Al Ahâsi he had torn out his

¹ Amari, *S.D.M.*, iii., p. 421, and Al-Baian, *B.A.S.*, ii., p. 38.

beard to such an extent as to cover his chin with blood.¹

The victor of Al Mahdia was not able however to defy the Sicilian power for long. The politics of the North African states had no stability, and a series of kaleidoscopic changes of fortune favoured the intervention and the successes of the Sicilian prince. In the tenth century, the Fatimites of Egypt had overrun the whole of the African coast; in the eleventh, their underlings in Tunis, Fez, and Sicily had repeated the story of the century before the Fatimites, and made themselves free of their overlords. That process of disintegration had favoured Roger the First then; another upheaval in Islam favoured his son now. The Hammadite princes of Bugia threatened the Ziridites of Al Mahdia, and some discontented tribes, vassals of the latter, were in secret alliance with the enemy. The external pressure and a scarcity of corn made El-Hasan seek the friendship of Roger, and obtain permission to import grain from Sicily. Finally, in the course of 1134, Yahya, Prince of Bugia, despatched an army and a fleet against Al Mahdia, where he possessed some partisans. The Ziridite prince, whose predecessors had been beaten from their original capital in Tunis, was master of little more than the former town; he was obliged to send to Roger for aid. George of Antioch was

¹ Amari, *B.A.S.*, vol. ii., p. 35 *seq.* Abu-as-Salt wrote in the following reign. For Al Mahdia in 1123 see ante, Chap. II.

despatched with twenty vessels; he appeared off Al Mahdia, and together with Hasan forced the Hammadites to abandon the siege. From this moment, the Ziridite prince became a protégé of Roger.¹ This piece of intervention was followed up by actual conquest. The island of Gerba, in the Gulf of Gabès, had become a haunt of pirates whom neither Bugia nor Al Mahdia could control. The Sicilian fleet was turned against them, and an army was landed which occupied the place (1135). The treatment of the inhabitants was merciful; the most of them were indeed taken prisoner, but the *amân* (terms for the vanquished) was at once proclaimed; those of the people who had escaped the Norman troops were allowed to ransom the others, and the town resumed, under a *cadi* installed by the Admiral, its normal life. George was too familiar with the Moslems to wish, or authorise, mere massacre and expulsion; his recommendations doubtless did much to confirm Roger in his natural inclination to treat towns taken from the Moslems with moderation.

On the other hand, it seems that the Gulf of Gabès remained a centre for Norman ships which were scarcely to be distinguished from the former pirates. The ships of Hasan himself were not safe from them, and they intercepted vessels sailing to and fro between Egypt and Al Mahdia.

¹ The dates are uncertain; the events took place apparently between 22 Oct., 1134, and 18 Oct., 1135; v. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 158.

It was yet some years before George of Antioch, whose operations along the coast were a source of terror to all the Moslem princes, was able to make any considerable conquest on the mainland itself. The unchecked triumphs of the King on the mainland in the years following Mignano then allowed him to launch all his naval power upon the opposite coasts. In 1143 (June 15th) a Sicilian fleet attempted a *coup de main* upon Tripoli, but the Arabs of the interior rode in to reinforce the garrison, and drove the assailants to their ships. In the same year a more successful stroke was made against Djidjeli, near Bugia, and the town was taken and burned. Between July, 1144, and June, 1145, the little town of Bresk, between Tenes and Cherchell, was plundered, and the island of Kerkinna opposite Sfax shared a similar fate, in spite of the protests of El-Hasan. The next year saw a triumph which was the foundation of a considerable African dominion.

On the 15th June, 1146, the Admiral George, with two hundred ships, appeared before Tripoli again. A chief of the Almoravid race, which now ruled Spain, was in command of the town, but there was no unity among the inhabitants. Indeed a struggle of factions made the task of George easy; after three days he was master of one of the greatest of the Moslem cities. The conquest was secured by a policy which contrasts creditably with the half-piracy of the preceding years. The Admiral ordered a general *amân*, allowed such

fugitives as wished to return in peace, and assured the people that the laws would be respected as long as they paid the *geziah* to the King. By such moderation Roger and his successor were able to retain Tripoli for twelve years, and it remained a most important centre for their commercial and political relations with Africa.

The politic treatment of Tripoli struck the keynote for Roger's future acquisitions on the Moslem coast. The capture of the city was immediately followed by the nomination of a native wali, and a native cadi, to act for the Moslems and be responsible for the collection of the *geziah* or poll-tax; their civil authority was left untouched by the military commander of the Norman garrison.

A policy so unusual was widely remarked among the Moslems of North Africa. It inclined the princes of the coast favourably towards Roger at a time when a fresh Moslem upheaval, that of the Berber Almohades, threatened to overwhelm at once the rulers of Spain, the Ziridites of Al Mahdia, and the recent power of the Hammadites. The petty emirs of Africa began to see in Roger a means of enhancing their own importance; one of them, Yustûf, governor of Gabès for the young prince Mohammed, son of Rasid, offered to surrender that city to the King on condition that he should be made wali. Roger replied from Sicily that his terms were accepted; but El-Hasan, suzerain of Mohammed, appeared in time, and the townsmen, encouraged by his presence, rose and massacred

the traitor after a Norman envoy had read aloud in the market-place the proclamation by which the King of Sicily conferred upon him the office of wali. The Sicilian fleet then appeared off the town, but was unable to master it (summer of 1148). George of Antioch was not in command when this repulse took place, but soon after he returned from his brilliant raids on the Greek Empire and was given orders for a great enterprise.

El-Hasan gives the impression of a gallant and honourable prince; he had been faithful to his treaties with Roger, but after long years of a practical vassalage, he was now marked down for a final overthrow. George collected a fleet of two hundred and fifty vessels and transports; in order to blind the Ziridite prince to his purpose, he informed him by pigeon-post from Pantelleria that his real object was Constantinople. An absence of wind, however, made impossible the sudden night assault on Al Mahdia which he contemplated, and when he appeared before the city (June 22, 1148), El-Hasan was well aware of the Admiral's object. Nor was he deceived by the Admiral's further assurance that he had come to aid him against his vassal town of Gabès, and to secure the punishment of Yusûf's murderers. The whole coast was afflicted by famine, and Al Mahdia contained provisions only for a month; the unfortunate Hasan, therefore, too proud to make any further surrender to the Sicilians, and too fond of his people to expose them to a sack,

determined to yield without a blow; he mounted his horse saying, "Let who will, follow me," and rode out of the city. George was therefore able to ride into Al Mahdia without meeting any resistance; in the castle of Hasan he found that that prince had left most of his treasure behind him. Some pillage was allowed to the troops, but here again the Admiral quickly restored order, dealt out food and money to the poor, appointed a *cadi* to govern the Moslems, and imposed no more burdens on them than the usual *gezia*h.

The capture of Al Mahdia, which was hailed with joy in Sicily as a final revenge for the disaster of 1123, was followed by the occupation of its dependencies Susa, Sfax, and Gabès. Susa was commanded by Ali, a son of Hasan, but he made no stand, surrendered the city, and joined his father in the interior, where the two unlucky princes found themselves unable even to escape to Egypt, because of the Sicilian fleet and garrisons. Sfax was taken after some resistance (12th July). Finally George turned upon Gabès, which yielded to him without difficulty; the Moslems remarked with wonder that he exacted no striking revenge for the murder of Yusûf. In these towns as in Al Mahdia a Christian garrison was installed, but an *âmil* or *cadi* was appointed to represent the people.

At the end of 1148 Roger's authority on the African coast stretched from Tripoli to Tunis; his fleets held the sea from Barka to Sardinia,

and even some of the interior tribes seem to have accepted his suzerainty. The yoke which he imposed upon his Moslem subjects was light, as light as that which his rule laid upon their co-religionists of Sicily. The Arab historians of the time, though they use the customary Moslem title of hostility in his case as of all Christian princes, acknowledge his humanity and justice. "That enemy of God," says one, "restored both the cities of Zawilah and Al Mahdia, furnished capital for the merchants, did good to the poor, confided the administration of justice to a *cadi* acceptable to the people, and ordered well the government of those two cities." Elsewhere, the same author puts it on record that he collected the *kharâg* (tribute) with humanity and moderation.¹ Roger was by far the most famous of the Christian princes of his age among the Moslems, and this less on account of his power than on account of his policy of toleration at home and abroad.

The African empire may be accredited mainly to the great Admiral who scored the many triumphs of 1148. George of Antioch, indeed, had the way paved for him by Christodulus and Eugenius, but the period of expansion towards Africa, and the sea-power which proved so great a menace to the Greeks, coincide with the Antiochene's career. His naval skill, his intimate knowledge of the language and politics of the Moslems, his

¹ Amari, *B.A.S.*, ii., pp. 295-6 (Ibn-abi-Dinâr).

acquaintance with the Levant as a whole combined to make him the greatest of Roger's sea-captains. In the occupation of the African towns he showed a statesmanship no less remarkable than his audacity and skill, and one must see in the whole policy of humanity the recommendations of the Admiral, sanctioned by the master whose favour he had so completely obtained.

It was not only on the African coast that George of Antioch proved to be the King's right arm. The whole naval armament was probably under his control; on one occasion we see him accompanying the royal army on the march inland to Apulia; in the reduction of the coast towns it is generally he who blockades from the sea-side. In 1129 and 1139 the fleet which co-operates with the army and forces Bari into surrender is commanded by him, and the fall of Amalfi in 1131 was mainly his work. The triumph of the King over his rebels in the ten years' war could never have been accomplished without the fleets, and the "admiral among admirals" who maintained command of the sea and closed the ports of the sea-towns.

The most striking of the Antiochene's exploits were displayed in the attack upon the Greek Empire in 1147-48. The rapidity and audacity with which George fell upon Corinth and sacked the treasures of Thebes, while Corfu, Cephalonia, and other scenes of Guiscard's victories were once more occupied by the Normans, seemed to herald a final overthrow of the ancient Empire.

She possessed, however, greater internal resource at the moment than was hers seventy years before, or than she was able to command some fifty-five years later; the Second Crusade passed over her harmlessly, and the vigorous Comnenus won back the island fortresses again. But if the King's design missed fire, the great Admiral's last exploit threw some glory upon the collapse; the Greeks were insulted at their very gates when George after rescuing the French King in the sea fight off Cape Malea ran for the Bosphorus, sailed up to the walls of Constantinople, and in bravado launched fire arrows with some effect upon the Imperial Palace, returning with an impunity that shows how low the naval efficiency of the Byzantines had fallen, and how remiss were their allies the Venetians.

The raid of 1149 was the Admiral's last service to the King. The date of his death is uncertain; it may have been at the end of 1149 or even as late as 1151.¹

Out of the emirs who survived him there was none to take the Admiral's place, either in naval command, or in the King's esteem. George had climbed to the highest place beside the throne. In the operations of 1130-1135 on the mainland he had as undivided a command at sea as the Chancellor Guarin by land. With him the office of *ammiratus* became invested with no less dignity

¹ See Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 100, and Epifanio, *Filippo di Al Mahdia*. *Arch. St. Sicil.*, xxx., N.S., p. 471.

in civil affairs than in military; like Christodulus before him he settled law-appeals, and became head of the Curia, but his simple title was exalted into the more imposing one of "emir of emirs and archon of archons." A deed of Roger's which speaks of the *amiratus amiratorum Georgius qui præerat toti regno meo* attests the viceregal character of the Admiral, and the King's high esteem of him. The low-born adventurer rose in the kingdom which he aided to found almost to the eminence of a prime vizir, but the vizir of a great and all-directing master.

The memory of the Admiral is preserved in Palermo by the church which he founded, and which is worthy of his fame. Santa Maria dell' Ammiraglio is now better known by the name La Martorana, which it gained at a later date. It was built for George of Antioch between 1139 and 1143 on a site not far from the later cathedral.¹

Later additions have left untouched the noble campanile and the original church, though some of the mosaics have suffered. The plan of the building is Byzantine, a square with a cupola, and apses at the eastern end; the walls are covered with the beautiful mosaics of which the Greeks were the masters; the work of Saracen artists is shown in the inscription in Arabic and Cufic

¹ The Act of Endowment is preserved in the Archivio of the Capella Palatina. George as *amiratus amiratorum* and *protonobilissimus* endows the church with land and ten Saracen serfs attached to the same. V. Galley Knight, *Normans in Sicily*. p. 260-262.

characters which run round the inside of the cupola. On the left-hand wall as one enters, a ground of mosaics represents the Admiral himself, kneeling at the feet of the Virgin; on the right hand King Roger himself is represented being crowned by Christ. The head and hands of the Admiral are those of the original mosaic; he is represented as a man of aquiline and even Semitic features with long white beard and hair. What has long been a Latin church was founded as Greek; the Admiral installed Orthodox clergy in it, and the rites were performed in Greek until the pontificate of Honorius III. The Martorana remains one of the best types of those churches to which Norman, Arabic, and Greek craftsmen contributed each their part under the Norman kings, and is a fitting memorial to that adventurer who began as an obscure Greek Levantine, spent his life as an associate or foe of the Moslems, and ended as the right hand of the Norman King.

In 1152, George of Antioch was no more, and a successor was needed for the new situation in Moslem Africa. In that year Abd-el-Moumen, chief of the fanatical Almohades, pushed his arms as far east as Constantine, and seemed likely to add the independent states of the eastern coast to his empire of Algeria. Both the surviving princes of the old dynasties and the Norman conquests fell under the shadow of his advance. Al-Harit, prince of Bona, had to abandon his capital before him, and turned to seek aid from Roger. The

command of the relief expedition was entrusted to the Logothete Philip. The latter was apparently a eunuch high in office in the court, a Moslem by birth, but now a Christian at least in outward conformity. The new Admiral arrived at Bona before the Almohad forces had appeared and captured the city, with the aid of Arab tribesmen from the interior, apparently being resisted by the inhabitants themselves, who were averse to Christian rule. Philip behaved as George would have done, proclaimed the peace, and installed an *āmil* who may have been the expelled governor (autumn of 1153). But though he collected much booty, he seems to have gone further than his predecessor in allowing the chief citizens to evacuate the city with their families and all their property. He then returned by Al Mahdia in triumph to Sicily.

His reward, however, was far other than one would have expected from the King, and his trial and punishment remain the most puzzling incident of the reign. The story is told most fully, and with full Christian bias, by Romuald of Salerno. The latter describes Philip as an eunuch whom the King's favour had raised to be *Magister* over all the royal household, and finally to be Admiral of the fleet which took Bona. The downfall of the favourite is, however, attributed not to his doings at the latter place, but to charges against his orthodoxy. He was in heart and mind a Saracen and was in the habit of visiting the synagogues (mosques?), and sending offerings to the

tomb of Mohammed; in addition he was accused of eating meat in Lent. When these facts became known, Roger, "inspired by the zeal of God," had him summoned to answer for his crimes before the Curia. Philip, convicted by his own conscience, tried to recover favour by promising the fullest Catholic orthodoxy for the future. The King, however, bursting into tears, declared before all the Curia his sorrow at finding that the servant whom he had brought up from childhood as a Catholic had practised the works of the infidel under the cover of the Faith.

If he had wronged me I would have forgiven him, but he has sinned against God, for which I dare not forgive my own son. Now, that all the world may know I love the Christian faith with all my heart and do not cease to avenge her wrongs even on my servants, let the laws be evoked . . . let them be armed with the sword of justice . . . to strike terror into the infidels.

The assembled Curia of justiciars, counts, and barons then tried the case, and convicted the Admiral of being *christiani nominis delusor*; the sentence was that he should be burned to ashes. The victor of Bona was dragged at the heels of a vicious horse to the place of punishment, burned at the stake before the royal palace, and his ashes thrown into the harbour in the sight of all the fleet.¹

¹ Romuald, Anno 1153. The date of the execution was Nov. or Dec., 1153.

The motives of Roger in the auto-da-fé which cast a dark shadow over the last months of his life are inexplicable. Romuald declares that he sacrificed Philip to show his own orthodoxy as a most Catholic prince. Only the Arabs seem to think it was due to the Admiral's exceeding or acting without orders at Bona, but they also hint that Roger was alarmed at the rumour among his own subjects that their King was also a secret Moslem.¹ One modern authority ascribes it to Roger's being now prematurely old and failing, embittered at the death of his wife and his three eldest sons, and alarmed at the conspiracy of the two Empires against him; he sacrificed Philip to the orthodox in order to clear the old scandal from his court that it was little better than that of a Moslem prince. Another ascribes it to Roger's being at the end of his life under clerical Catholic influence. A third would clear Roger, now at the close of his life, of the responsibility, and concludes that it was William, at this time associated with his father in the kingdom, who sanctioned the auto-da-fé; Philip was the first victim of the nobility and their hatred of palace officials.²

The reign of toleration was to last forty years yet. It is scarcely probable that Roger sacrificed

¹ Amari, *B.A.S.*, p. 464. Ibn-el-Athir mentions Bona and says "the people of Sicily murmured that the King himself was Moslem."

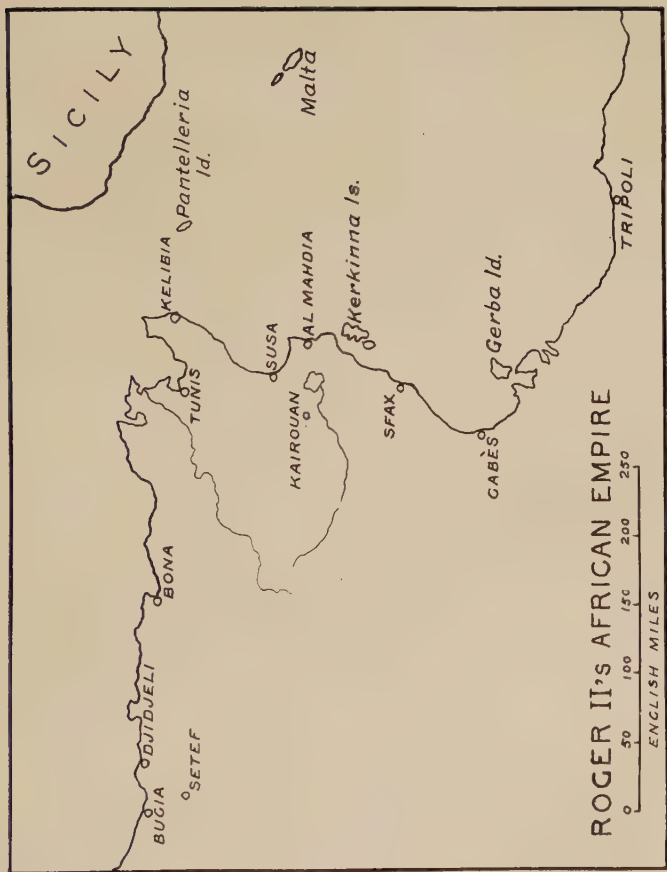
² Amari, *S.D.M.*, iii p. 441; Caspar, *Die Gründung*, *op. cit.*, p. 433; Epifanio, *op. cit.*, pp. 496-8.

the Admiral for doing at Bona little more than George had done many times with his approval. The deed has a certain relation with his life policy; his anger once roused was implacable and cruel as that of an eastern despot or a Renaissance tyrant; his toleration was for Moslems, Jews, and Greeks living by their own faith honestly and without disguise, but not for those who made a Christian exterior cover unconverted hearts; such would not have been the policy of a statesman, and would have involved him in greater danger from orthodox Europe and his old foe the Papacy than open liberty to worship. It seems clear that Philip was guilty of the accusations; Romuald declares that he had many accomplices in the court who were punished with him.

The capture of Bona gave the farthest limit to the Sicilian dominion in Africa. Roger's dominions extended from Tripoli to Bona, along a coast line commanded by many garrisons, and covered by his fleets; even in the interior Arab tribes recognised some loose kind of dependence.¹

Any possible expansion westward had long been checked by the Hammadites; in the last year of Roger's life, even the conquests themselves were in danger. Abd-el-Mumen had conquered Spain

¹ Amari, *S.D.M.* iii., p. 425 *seq.*, says that Tunis was not a part of Roger's dominion and hints that it was Tenes which was occupied; possibly, he says, the King of Tunis recognised him. Tenes however seems very far west and was apparently only plundered. Malta and Gozo remained in the hands of the second Roger, whose father had subjected them to his authority in 1091.



and Morocco; he now advanced eastwards with 30,000 Unitarians (Almohades) of the fanatical Berber breed, and the princes of the Beni-Hammad and the Ziridites were brought to bay. A league of all the Arab emirs and the tribes from Constantine to Tripoli armed themselves for the life-and-death struggle against the newcomers, and it is probable that they received encouragement from the King of Sicily. Their fighting men went out in the old Moslem style of chivalry, resolved on death or victory, and with all their wives, children, and wealth in their train; in the mountains of Setef (April, 1153) a three days' battle took place, the Almohades at last wiped out the fighting men, captured the camp, and sent the women and children captives into Morocco. The Hammadites of Bugia and the remnants of the Ziridites fell together.

Roger was not to see however the consequences of this war of brothers and at his death his own empire was unimpaired. The first King of Sicily holds a high place among those who drove back the Moslem power from its points of vantage about the Mediterranean in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; although no Crusader himself, he stands inferior to no Western prince in the history of the wars between Christendom and Islam.¹

¹ Roger, though he made no offer at any time to carry an army to the relief of the Holy Land, at one time contemplated a crusade in Spain. In 1127, he negotiated with Raymond III., Count of Barcelona, and offered fifty ships and his personal assis-

Among the makers of the kingdom the emirs hold a high rank, as they stand nearest to the throne. Their importance sprang from that naval organisation which was so largely due to their labours, which made the kingdom the strongest naval power of the Western Mediterranean, and without which the sea-towns of Italy could never have been reduced, nor the African empire founded. It is significant and remarkable that of the six leading admirals of the kingdom, namely Eugenius, Christodulus, George, John, Philip, and Matthew of Creon, the first four are Greeks and the fifth a Moslem. These commanders held the highest places in the Curia, they formed part of the Privy Council, and were styled archons and *familiares* in their civil capacity.

The most distinguished of the younger emirs was John, the son of the Admiral Eugenius. He commanded, along with, or under, George, the fleet which forced Amalfi with its dependents of Scala and Ravello into submission in 1131. In 1134 we find him commanding on the mainland; together with the Chancellor Guarin he was entrusted with the government of the Terra di Lavoro. The two did good service together, holding the principality of Capua against Robert and Rainulf in 1135, and giving time to the King to gather fresh forces in Sicily; joining him when he came in the besieging of Naples. After 1136

tance the next year against the Moslems of Spain. V. two letters of alliance, in Amari, *S.D.M.*, iii., p. 389 n.

we do not hear of John in military command, and his after fate is uncertain.

If Roger's naval commanders were Greek or Arab, the army and the great offices in the administration were entrusted to men of the Latin or northern races. It is obvious that on his assumption of the crown in 1130 he sought for men of ability able to support him in bearing the weight of the kingdom, and in building up an administration wider than the mere county of Sicily and Calabria had needed. Romuald says that he called *probos et sapientes viros*, from within and without the kingdom, to his court; and the summons which brought such men as George of Antioch to his service brought others, well-fitted by genius or training to found that central and powerful monarchy which Roger aimed at.

In the Curia of the new kingdom the Chancellor followed the "emir of emirs" in importance, and this office was filled in succession by three men of great ability. The first was Guarin¹; a man whom we find acting as Roger's *magister cappellanus* at the beginning of the royal reign, and who in August, 1132, is called Chancellor. His origin cannot be traced; it is probable that he came from France some years before the crown was assumed. He is described as being a cleric well versed in letters, skilful in matters of the world, and possessed of a tenacious and cautious mind. In the

¹ I have preferred this form to the Italian Guarino and the Norman Warin.

winter of 1134-35, as we saw, he acted along with the Emir John, with viceregal authority, in the Terra di Lavoro. After the King had had his second son proclaimed Prince of Capua in that city (1135), Guarin was appointed to guide the government of the young Alfonso, and charged with the administration of his principality. It was he who ascended to Monte Cassino on January 5, 1137, at the head of his troops, and attempted to seize the vast treasures of the abbey, and utilise its walls as a fortress against the approaching army of Henry of Bavaria. He failed to carry out the King's wishes and, while meditating a further stroke, died at Salerno, January 21, 1137.

Guarin's lieutenant in the command of the Terra di Lavoro was Jocelyn¹; also probably of foreign extraction, who had for some time been a *Camerarius* of the Curia. After the installation of Prince Alfonso, he was made Procurator for all the King's domains in that region. On the death of Guarin, Jocelyn stepped for the moment into the Chancellor's place, took command of the army, and secured the election at Monte Cassino of an abbot who favoured Roger and Anacletus.

The successor of Guarin was not found in the *Camerarius* but in a man of English name and

¹ I have preferred this form to Gozzelino or Canzolinus. "Procurator" is Alex. of Teles'e rhetorical expression for something like the later Grand Justiciar.

origin, Robert of Selby,¹ who had come to Southern Italy about the time when Roger became King. He was now promoted to the office of Chancellor, and entrusted with the military command of Salerno. Roger's mainland capital was strongly garrisoned against the coming of the Germans, and the danger was soon realised; from the middle of July to the first week of August, 1137, Robert endured a siege from the Pisans, the late prince of Capua, and the whole German army. After the town yielded to the Emperor, the stubborn commander retired to the citadel, and held out until the German wave had ebbed away and the tide turned in the King's favour again.

Robert retained until his death his high office under the King. In the autumn of 1143, after a vain attempt to come to terms with the new Pope, Celestine II., Roger and Robert surrounded Benevento with their troops in order to frighten him into negotiations. The miserably harassed Beneventans complained that the King was violating his own charter of privileges of a former date; the Chancellor being sent into the city by the King demanded to see the document and when it

¹ The usual Latinised form *Salebia* makes Selby more probable than Salisbury, on which latter Stubbs (*Constit. Hist.*, i., p. 428) grounds a guess that Robert may have been a pupil of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, and under him mastered the workings of the English Exchequer. He seems to have been a cleric. For Robert see also Pauli (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1878, p. 525).

was in his hands had it destroyed.¹ The last military command of the Chancellor was in 1144; he accompanied the two royal princes in the campaign in which they secured the frontier along the Tronto.

The character of Robert of Selby is painted by two writers of his native country. John of Hexham tells how William, Archbishop of York, staying with King Roger, found his Chancellor a man of the greatest influence among the friends of the King, and loaded with wealth and honours. John of Salisbury, moralising on avarice, tells how in his time, the see of Avellino being vacant, Robert presided over the election and was approached by three candidates who each offered the Chancellor bribes. They were accepted and Robert then summoned the archbishops, bishops, and others to try the disputed case. The Chancellor, thereupon, revealed the simony that had been attempted, the elections were quashed, and a poor monk canonically elected. Apparently Robert, who displays here a rather grim humour, retained the bribes. It accords with the character ascribed him by John of Salisbury, who says that, though unlettered, he was possessed of a most acute understanding and of distinguished manners; he was fluent in the speech of his adopted country, and,

¹ *Chron. Ferrar.*, *op. cit.*, p. 27, anno 1143: "Privilegium quod videns tenuit nec reddidit prius quam illud rescribat et regi ostendat. Egreditur igitur de Benevento cancellarius cum privilegio inlicitatus."

a thing which especially distinguished him from the thrifty and even miserly Lombards, an excellent boon-fellow, accustomed to drink even to the danger of his health, and exhibiting the ways of his own country in the great and generous feasts which he was in the habit of providing.¹

The Latin and the Englishman were succeeded by a man whose history, full of interest as it is, belongs to the next reign. Maio of Bari, son of an influential citizen of that town, was in 1144 *scriniarius* or keeper of the archives at Palermo; in October, 1151, he was made Vice-Chancellor, and before the King's death he had received the full office of Chancellor, left vacant by Robert of Selby. It was to be Maio's destiny to become a real vizir to the irresolute William I., and as "grand emir of emirs" to achieve a higher place than ever George of Antioch had done, but to fall at last by the daggers of the offended nobles. Robert of Selby's successor is a sinister figure, but much of the credit must be his of the steady building up of the royal power.

One Englishman more, though of less rank than the Chancellor Robert, played a great part in the creation of the Norman-Sicilian administration. Thomas Brown, or Brun, came to Sicily about 1130, probably with Robert of Selby, being then thirty years old, and was made *cappellanus* in the royal Curia. In a charter of 1144 he appears

¹ *Polycraticus* (Webb), ii., 21, 173, and *Chron. Haugustaldense*, *M.G.H.SS.*, t. xxvii., p. 15.

with the Moslem title of Kaid, a word generally, latinised *gaitus*; as Thomas Brown he attests Greek charters.¹ Possessed of the favour of the King, by whom he is called *noster familiaris* until his death early in 1154, Thomas eventually returned to England, where he appears in 1159. He had probably been involved in the plots that agitated William I.'s reign and was expelled as an adherent of the Norman baronial party. His experience in the financial administration of Sicily gained him a high place in the Exchequer of Henry II., the office of King's Almoner, and a pension of thirty-six pounds a year, which he retained to his death in the first year of Richard's reign.²

Such were the greatest among the builders of the brilliant and powerful kingdom of the Normans in Lower Italy. English, Greeks, Arabs, Latins of France and Italy, they contributed, in the service of a King who was greater than any of themselves,

¹ See Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, i., 391, A., for a Greek document of Palermo, 1143 A. D., drawn up κατ' ἐνώπιον (in the presence) μαστροθωμά τὸν βρόνον.

² Thomas Brown is referred to in the famous passage in the *Dialogus de Scaccario* (S. C., Stubbs, p. 189) where his authority in the Exchequer is described as being considerable; he is trusted with the keeping of a roll on which are written "regni jura regisque secreta." He is said to have been high in the favour and the cabinet of King Roger but under his successor he both lost his office and was in danger of his life. He therefore gladly accepted the invitation of Henry of England to enter into his service. See also preface to Oxford edition of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, and Pauli, *Magister Thomas Brunus*, in *Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1878, p. 523.

their various talents to the founding and organising of a state, whose subjects were as varied in race and sympathies as they themselves. George and his fellow-admirals by sea, Robert and Guarin by land, Thomas Brown and all his co-workers in the Curia and the Exchequer, served the single will of the King and obeyed the direction which he gave to the kingdom; under that unquestioned authority they made a state and a government system for which they could find no models among the Western kingdoms. If the dynasty they served was extinguished in forty years, yet the impulse of their work still ran in a broad and noble stream. Great commanders by sea maintained the tradition bequeathed from Christodulus and George; Frederick II., most brilliant of all mediæval Emperors, rebuilt upon the work of his grandfather Roger and the officers of the Curia a power and a government even greater and more splendid than theirs.



SEALS OF GEORGE OF ANTIOCH

CHAPTER VII

INTERNAL AFFAIRS, 1140-1154. THE DEATH OF THE KING

AT the close of 1140, the new kingdom stood consolidated, legalised at the hands of its suzerain, a Pope whom all Europe had accepted, its frontiers defined, and a constitution promulgated for it on the Ariano day. A period of external expansion followed; Roger took his place among the first princes of Europe, and at once revived the old duel with Constantinople, and the campaign against the Mohammedans of Africa. But his resources were not exclusively devoted to the latter. Many outstanding questions still survived the compact of Mignano, and fed the flame of a guerilla war which filled the rest of the reign. Scarcely one year free from marches of armies or apprehension of great dangers was allowed to the kingdom in this period. The condition of things was complicated; the factors in it were many and intertangled, namely, the Norman kingdom, the Papacy, the Roman commune, the empires of East and West, France, the Crusades.

The real duel was between Roger himself and a succession of Popes. Neither Mignano nor the death of Anacletus brought peace, for, in the first place, the Legatine powers accorded to Count Roger long ago remained a burning question, and, in the second, Roger proved himself, like a true Norman, "*dominationis avidus*" "*semper aliena petens*."

The Sicilian was not content with the boundaries of Mignano. He aimed at increasing the kingdom to the north in Spoleto, at including Benevento, at pushing the line farther west and north against the Papal states. In 1143, he seemed about to take Benevento; in the summer of 1144 he made a fruitless attack on Terracina; it was all in the midst of a conflict with the Pope, but in peace or war Roger's aggressions were ceaseless.

On the first point, that of the Legatine power, the Roman Curia was at least equally in the right. This question went back to the very origins of the Hauteville power. Guiscard and Count Roger, when they wrested Lower Italy and Sicily from Greeks and Arabs, did the work of the Hildebrandine Papacy, in widening the bounds of Roman supremacy and Catholic practices to the south and east. A bargain followed between the Pontiffs and the Hautevilles; the Curia legalised the authority of the brothers, and conferred upon the younger the exceptional privilege of the hereditary Legateship; on the other hand the Normans made it possible for the Roman Church to rebuild the

ruined fabric of the Latin sees in the south, and themselves put into effect the payment of tithes, and the judgment of clerics by canon law.

We have seen how Count Roger, in virtue of, or in addition to, the Apostolic Legateship, nominated his own Latin bishops at the same time that he protected the Greek churches. His son was no less vigorous in both fields. His organisation of his Greek churches, and his toleration of Moslems, may have made him suspect at Rome, but these were not put forward openly against him. The true *casus belli* was in the high powers which Roger II. asserted over his Latin prelates.

Even before he became Duke of Apulia he had exercised his power in the electing and deposing of bishops. That power was greatly enhanced when he became the sole champion of Anacletus against Europe. Roger's relations with the Papacy practically alternated between the opposition of Honorius and Innocent, and the half-vassalage of Anacletus. The latter, in spite of himself, was forced to place Roger in a dangerously powerful position against the Roman See. The King was able to proceed with the organising of dioceses which his father had begun, and to add to his royal power a practical Headship over the Church. Thus Anacletus in 1130 and 1131 made Palermo and Messina into metropolitan sees at the King's wish; he afterwards confirmed the new bishoprics of Lipari-Patti and Cefalù.

The situation after Mignano was that the Sicilian kingdom contained some fifteen bishops who are merely called *electi*, the nominees of Roger who had been approved by Anacletus. Their number contained, besides Sicilian and Calabrian bishops, the "elect" of Apulian, Campanian, and Spoletan sees such as Capua, Teano, Melfi, and Chieti. Innocent had stubbornly fought against any recognition, open or implied, of the pontifical acts of his dead rival. Over this he had quarrelled with Monte Cassino, and come to words with the Emperor. How was he to recognise the approved of Anacletus and the nominees of Roger, even if they could not with justice be called simoniac, and indeed were acknowledged to be men of excellent character? In addition to the creation of new dioceses and the royal nomination of bishops, Innocent had further grievances; Roger had forbidden the prelates of his kingdom to attend at Roman synods and had prohibited Papal Legates from entering his domains.

Did the objection of Innocent to the interdiction of Legates apply merely to Apulia and Capua, *i.e.*, the portions of the kingdom which were not Roger's hereditary dominions? In that case justice was on his side. Roger, in acting as Legate Apostolic in the non-hereditary dominions, had assumed a power never conferred upon the three dukes who preceded him on the mainland. Whatever right he had to nominate bishops in Sicily and Calabria, he had far exceeded it in the

creations in Capua and Apulia.¹ This act of usurpation, characteristic of Roger, was answered by Innocent's refusing to recognise all the *electi*; and the contest of King and Pope began again.

In November, 1142, Roger was back from Sicily, and had come to Monte Cassino to watch the course of events. But an unexpected factor had already entered into the relations of the two. At the end of 1139 the Pope had returned to Rome. He applied himself at once to win the favour of the citizens by an active and just administration; but it was not easy to efface from their minds the memory of Anacletus, whose Roman birth and open-handedness had made him popular, in whom also they had flattered themselves they had a Pope of their own. That Innocent possessed no hold over their affections was soon shown.

The little town of Tivoli was obnoxious both to the Pope and to the Romans, owing to the aggressive spirit of liberty it displayed against both; to the Romans it was annoying to be faced with so pertinacious, and yet so petty, a rival, but to have the rival at its own gates was intolerable. The destruction or subjection of Tivoli was resolved on; and Innocent despatched the city militia against its walls; the Tivolese, however, added to the debt of insult by suddenly falling on the Roman camp, and driving the enemy back to the very

¹ Chalandon, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 109, shows that Roger never made any distinction as regards the Apostolic Legateship between Italy and Sicily.

walls of Rome (12th June, 1142). In the next year the Romans took their revenge. The Tivolese, surrounded on every side, were forced to surrender, but, to the chagrin of the Romans, the surrender was made to the Pope, and confined itself to assurances of aid, in supporting canonical election, and maintaining the cause of the Papacy in Rome.

Forestalled in their hope of laying Tivoli in ashes, and discovering that a treaty had been made over their heads, the Romans resolved on step which would outwit both parties. The citizens met at the Capitol, restored the Senate, and declared war on Tivoli. Innocent II. died in the midst of the revolution (24th September, 1143), having lived to see the temporal authority of the Holy See thrown to the ground.

He handed on to his successors the struggle with Roger. The next Pope was Celestine II. (Guido of Castello), elected October, 1143; he held his place in Rome only by the sufferance of the new commune. Meanwhile, Roger was once more in Southern Italy; he sought to come to terms with Celestine, but the Pope was bent on calling in the German Conrad against the Sicilian. Roger therefore loosed his troops against Benevento, and carried away the treasury of Monte Cassino.

It was in this year (1143) that Nilus Doxopatrius, a Greek priest of Palermo, dedicated to the King his work on *The History of the Patriarchates*. This was a plea for the claims of Constantinople

against Rome. Roger did not disdain such an ally in his fight with the Papacy; it was something to show the Holy See that it was in Roger's power to place his kingdom under the spiritual supremacy of Constantinople, and become, like the Basileus, the temporal master of the Church.

On March 8, 1144, Celestine was dead. The cardinals elected on the 12th Girard of Bologna, formerly rector of Benevento, a vigorous personality, who took the name of Lucius II. In May, Roger was again in Italy, and early in June (4th or 5th) he met the Pope at Ceprano, where the two attempted a *rapprochement*. But Lucius demanded back the principality of Capua, and Roger would not recede from the terms of Mignano: again he declared war; made an unsuccessful attack on Terracina, and sent his sons on a campaign in which they ravaged the Papal frontiers as far as Ferentino, and pushed as far north as Amiterno. The result was the seven years' truce of October, 1144.

What Roger was now aiming at was a fresh ratification of Mignano, and a re-investiture in his estates. Lucius maintained a bold front against the King, but the ground was giving way behind him. In the autumn the Romans set up in official fashion "the Holy Senate"; elected as Patricius, Jordan, one of the Pierleoni, and demanded that the Pope should surrender all his temporal authority to the new official. The German power was too far off to aid Lucius, and he disdained the

armed assistance which Roger was willing to give him. Instead he called the Frangipani to his aid, made an armed attack on the Capitol where the majesty of the new commune had lodged itself, was repulsed, and died of his wounds in the abbey of San Gregorio (15th February, 1145).

None of the cardinals desired the heavy burden of the tiara, and as a result their votes fell upon the man seemingly least fitted to bear it, namely Bernard of Pisa, abbot of S. Anastasio in Rome, formerly a monk of Clairvaux, and a disciple of the great Bernard. The latter was dismayed at the choice of a man of such simple character in such a stormy time, and reproached the cardinals bitterly by letter, for bringing back into the world one who had long withdrawn from the world; in spite of this, the new Pope, Eugenius III., showed considerable firmness during his pontificate. It began in a deadlock between him and the Romans; he would neither recognise the new Senate, nor they him, and finally he retired by night with many cardinals to Monticelli (17th February 1145), and was consecrated at Farfa. The Papacy whose claims to universal dominion had so nearly been realised, was now without a capital.

From Easter to November (1145) Eugenius spent his exile in Viterbo. Meanwhile Rome set itself enthusiastically to turn memories into realities; the Papal Prefecture gave way to the Patriariate; the title of the new commune, *Senatus*

Populusque Romanus, was one which had the glory of fifteen centuries upon it; and, as if to show that the Papal sovereign was gone, St. Peter's was turned into a fortress. But Rome could not play for long the part of a Milan, and stirred uneasily at the thought of a restoration of the Pope by the German King with Bernard of Clairvaux in his train.

Therefore, just before Christmas, Eugenius rode back amid popular rejoicings into the Holy City, on the understanding that the Senate should receive investiture from him, and that the Patriarch should disappear in favour of a Papal prefect.

There rode into Rome, along with the restored Pontiff, one of the most striking figures of that age. Arnold of Brescia is one of those men whom their principles and the bold enunciation of them have made remarkable in history, but on whose greatness, because the great opportunity never came to them, we cannot decide. Isolated, unbefriended, with little arena or none, the great movements of his age had little place for him, and, dying in a good cause, he has scarcely earned the name of a martyr.

Born somewhere early in the twelfth century in Brescia, Arnold received in time priest's orders, and went to Paris to study theology. There he sat at the feet of Abelard, and received the teaching which did much to shape his after-life. Returning to Brescia, he became prior of an Augustinian House, but his vigorous mind was not

content to accept authority, or tread in ways marked out for it. The study of the Scriptures turned his mind to the Apostolic Age of the Church. In addition, at Brescia he was in the centre of two influences: the study of Roman Law which, once the Pandects of Justinian had been rediscovered, became a passion in Lombardy, and the ideals of the Patarini, who had once been as powerful in Brescia as in Milan. From the one his mind gained a secularist colouring, he became impressed with the need of making a bulwark of the temporal power against the ecclesiastical; the second confirmed him in the belief that the evils of the Church were to be healed by the taking away of all worldly power from Pope, bishops, priests, and monks. A man of fearless and inspired character, he began to preach to that effect openly in Brescia; and the weight which his ascetic habits, his eloquence, and enthusiasm gave to doctrines which were naturally favourable to the communal principle won him in his native city the authority almost of a Savonarola.

In 1132, Innocent II. appointed a certain Mainfred Bishop of Brescia, but the latter was unable to keep his footing in the city where Arnold was supreme, and it was not till the Lateran Council of 1139 that Mainfred was able to secure the overthrow of the preacher, who was deprived of his office and expelled from Italy until such time as the Pope might think fit to allow his return. He returned again to France, and became once more

a pupil and a partisan of Abelard at Mont-St.-Geneviève. While he drank from the old fount, the leaders of the Church were the more determined to silence him along with his master. It was St. Bernard, rather than the Pope, who had become the oracle of the Church; the Abbot of Clairvaux saw eye to eye with the Brescian in desiring the purification of the Church, but only that its power might be the more exalted; he desired that the principles of Hildebrand should be carried out to the end, Arnold was their most determined foe. The Saint urged the Pope to condemn together Abelard and Arnold, "the shield-bearer of the new Goliath," who had bound themselves together against the Lord and His Anointed. Finally a papal decree condemned the two as enemies of the Catholic Church, and Abelard retired to make his peace with religion at Cluny.

Arnold, however, with a passion for martyrdom, continued to launch from the hill of St. Geneviève his denunciations of the prelates,—their greed, their pride, their love of blood. The result of teaching what seemed to most men sheer anarchy was expulsion by royal order at Bernard's suggestion; Arnold then found his way to Zürich, was again expelled by an episcopal decree, and at last found an asylum with the more generous Cardinal Guido, who was then on an embassy as Legate to Germany. When the Cardinal returned to Viterbo, he brought Arnold into the presence of the mild Eugenius; the latter received him again into the

communion of the Church at the price of severe penances. So the reformer at last came to Rome; he found the revolution in full swing, and, amid the eager hopes of the time, seemed to see an arena for his passionate ideals.

Eugenius found no security in the Holy City. Unwilling to give that permission to sack Tivoli which the Romans demanded, he withdrew (January, 1146) beyond the Tiber, and finally to Viterbo; while the old vendetta was sated in the blood and ashes of the little rival.

The Romans were now in the mood to hear Arnold. Day after day, the reformer harangued them from the Capitol; he denounced both Pope and cardinals; the one was a man of blood, the others were Scribes and Pharisees; to a Pontiff who tortured the churches, oppressed the innocent, and neglected the lives and teaching of the Apostles no reverence or obedience was due; it was not to be tolerated that Rome, the seat of Empire, the fountain of freedom, the Queen of the world, should be reduced to such slavery. In a short time Arnold was master of Rome, and it was clear that only force would reinstate the exiled Eugenius.

Roger, watching events generally from Palermo, was anxious to secure a reconciliation with the Pope at the price of sufficient armed forces to lead the Pope back to the Lateran. But the Pope looked to other allies, to the Frangipani of Rome, to Conrad himself. And meanwhile the Greek

and Western empires had entered into the field, and the situation for Roger became one of great danger.

The King had himself sought for a *rapprochement* with Constantinople. Early in 1143, he sent an embassy to the Greek capital asking the hand of a princess of the blood for one of his sons. The negotiations were delayed by the death of the Basileus John (8th April, 1143), but the new Emperor, Manuel, soon after his accession, despatched the ambassador Basil Xeros to revive the project of the marriage. Roger, however, sought for a ratification of his royal title; it was refused, and the Sicilian envoys in Constantinople were cast into prison. Neither of the ancient empires would treat the new King as anything more than an outlaw, and in place of this suggested marriage, a family alliance between the two imperial houses, which had been in the air since 1140, was taken up once more. Finally, early in 1146, the envoy Nicephorus came to Conrad's court, and the espousal of Bertha of Salzbach, sister-in-law of the King, to the gallant and talented Emperor Manuel was finally arranged. Robert of Capua and Roger of Ariano, two of Roger II.'s bitterest foes, escorted the lady to Constantinople, where, as the Princess Irene, she married the Basileus (the week after Epiphany, 1146).

The marriage alliance had the King of Sicily in view; it was accompanied with a declaration

that the two empires were to hold to the same friends and the same foes; to strive after the honour and peace that were due to both, and so to make the name of Christ supreme in the world. The attack which such a declaration of war heralded was staved off by the necessities of the Crusade, and never descended upon Roger. But it made still more essential an *entente* with the Papacy.

From the end of November, 1148, to April, 1149, Eugenius remained at Viterbo. He then moved to Tusculum, where he assembled an army, the command of which he entrusted to Cardinal Guido, for the reduction of Rome. In May, 1149, Conrad, returned from the Crusade, landed on the Italian coast, but before the Pope could secure him for the march upon Rome, he departed again for Germany. This threw Eugenius back upon the King of Sicily, whose envoys were already in his camp.

A truce of four years was concluded: the Pope confirmed the Apostolic Legateship, but said nothing of the bishops-elect; in return Roger provided him with troops and gold.¹ The armies of the Pope and the King at once attacked the Roman republic and its allies. Terracina and Norma, occupied by the Romans in their attempts to subdue the Patrimony, were taken by the royalists; the Chancellor Robert took and burned Rieti, an ally of the republic; and Eugenius, with the Count of Tivoli, the Frangipani, and the

¹ For words of treaty *vide* Chalandon, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 119, note 2.

Pierleoni, now allies both of Roger and the Pope, re-entered Rome (November, 1149). His restoration however was on terms; Arnold of Brescia retained his influence, and the Senate, though taking an oath of vassalage to the Holy See, remained in possession of the Capitol. The settlement was not a lasting one, and in June, 1150, Eugenius retired from the city into the Campagna.

Roger had looked for some reward for his late services, and in addition was threatened by the constant negotiations between Manuel and Conrad. He therefore sought for that interview with the Pope from which he hoped for a final settlement. Returning to the mainland for the last time, he took his way by the Crati to Salerno, and finally met Eugenius at Ceprano (July, 1150). The result was a triumph almost complete for the Pope; he secured canonical election for the bishoprics of the kingdom, and successfully asserted his right to send Papal Legates into Roger's dominions. The elections of the bishops who were in question were investigated. The electors, for the most part, stoutly maintained that royal influence had not weighed in their votes, and the Pope did indeed confirm most of the "elect," even if some of Anacletus's partisans were rejected. On the other hand, Eugenius refused to re-invest Roger on the terms of Mignano, and, while he granted the pallium to Hugh of Palermo, refused to place any suffragans under him. The interview was a re-

pulse for the King, whose diplomacy was failing with age and the menace of the two empires. Yet the triumph of the Pope was not of a permanent kind,¹ and the King quitted the mainland for the last time, to act with as little deference to his Papal suzerain as before.

During the few years that remained of his life, Roger, from his court at Palermo, had yet to parry the final stroke which his imperial enemies contemplated. The plans by which he hoped fatally to embarrass Manuel and Conrad had been carefully built up at the close of the Second Crusade, when the return of the most distinguished of the Crusaders revived the hopes which had failed him during the Crusade itself. Welf, brother of Henry the Lion of Saxony, had then returned by Sicily; Roger invited him to his court, and entrusted him with letters to Conrad's leading opponents in Germany, such as Henry himself and Frederick of Swabia. Welf, returning home, was to work up a league of princes against Conrad, which the King of Sicily was to assist with troops and money.

By his understanding with Welf, and his unofficial alliance with Louis, Roger struck all the strings of European diplomacy. By a final reconciliation with the Pope, by keeping alive the idea of a fresh

¹ By the treaty of Benevento, 1156, William I., son of Roger, secured from Hadrian IV. a re-grant of Legatine power for Sicily, with a veto upon appeals to Rome: *vide* Caspar, *Die Legaten-gewalt*, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

Crusade so as to win the favour of the leaders of the Church, by stirring up an internal revolt in Germany and a frontier attack on the Greek Empire, he might anticipate, or at least paralyse, the coalition.

The kingdom of Hungary, lying between the two empires, was exposed to the attacks of both. It was related to the new kingdom of Sicily by marriage ties, for a daughter of the first Count of Sicily had married Coloman, its King. The new ruler, Geiza II., was troubled by the counter-claims of Boris, son of Coloman, and the pretender was backed by both Conrad and Manuel. The kingdom of the Magyars, therefore, became a factor in the whole question; it is probable that Welf, organising a rebellion against Conrad, established relations with Geiza; at least in the autumn of 1149, an allied army of Hungarians and Serbs attacked the frontiers of the Greek Empire. The hand of Roger and of Welf may be seen in this flank attack, which diverted Manuel's attention.

After Corfu had fallen (end of 1149) the Basileus gathered at Avlona a fleet with which he meant to attack Apulia. A storm scattered the ships, and having now to face his enemies on the north, he could only send to Ancona the Grand-domestic Aksouch, who failed to meet Conrad in his brief stay on Italian soil.

Early in 1150, the German princes rose against Conrad. Welf was defeated at Flochberg, but

it was only then that Conrad could assure Manuel that he would, after the Diet should meet at Merseburg in May, act with him against the kings of Sicily and France.¹ A Greek envoy, Michael Bardalia, was at his court early in 1150; Rainulf of Avellino's brother, Alexander, at Venice, and other envoys at Pisa, sought, in the interests of the Basileus, to bring those cities into a new coalition, in which the Norman exiles would recover their heritage. Meanwhile, Eugenius, indignant at the crowning of Prince William in Palermo, and with the indefatigable Wibald of Corvei acting as intermediary, urged the King of the Romans to cross the Alps, and avenge him on Roger and the Roman Senate. In March, 1151, the Basileus was ready, in June, Conrad proclaimed his imminent descent upon Italy.

Again, as in 1135, Roger stood isolated. Louis, left without his right-hand man by the death of the Abbot Suger, renounced foreign affairs, and the King of Sicily was left without a single effective ally.

He was saved, as by a miracle, by the death of Conrad (15th February, 1152). The new King, Frederick I., was not elected till March 5th. His great gifts, his excessive pride in his high office, his vigour of character were to make him a more dangerous foe to the kingdom of Sicily than his

¹ In April, 1150, Conrad informed Manuel that the Sicilian "tyrant" was at the bottom of a joint conspiracy of France and Italy against the Eastern Empire. *B. R. Germ.*, Jaffé, i., p. 363.

two forerunners had been. He took up his uncle's plans against the Norman King. But while he assured the Norman exiles at his court that he would soon right their wrongs, he had to spend some years in settling himself upon his throne, and in the solution of the long-standing Welf-Hohenstaufen feud. From Italy he was courted both by the Roman Senate and the Pope; the one urging him in a letter written by a follower of Arnold to seek the Imperial Crown from the votes of the Romans, and rule by the law of Justinian; and the other, to follow the tradition which Charlemagne had set, and receive the Imperial Crown from God and at the hands of the successor of Peter. Leaving the Senate without a reply, Frederick entered into a compact with Eugenius, the terms of which were drawn up at Constance, March, 1153; by this the new King promised to enforce the submission of Rome, and all the Patrimony, to Eugenius, and to make no terms with Sicily except in accord with the Pope. He had, already (October, 1152), proclaimed that in two years he would descend upon Italy; in 1153 he received two embassies from Constantinople; and the two empires again joined against that Norman kingdom which they equally detested as usurping their separate rights.

Meanwhile Eugenius was able once more to enter Rome (end of 1152), again on terms with the Senate. He died not many months afterwards at Tivoli (July 8, 1153), having redeemed, by a not



SEPULCHRE OF ROGER II, IN THE CATHEDRAL OF PALERMO

PHOTO BY ALINARI

unworthy pontificate, the forebodings of Bernard of Clairvaux at its commencement.

The reign of Anastasius IV. (July 12, 1153–December 3, 1154), who lived peaceably in the Holy City by an understanding with the commune, filled the period between Eugenius and the great Hadrian IV.

Roger II. was not to see the end of the complicated diplomacy which filled the last years of his life. The results of it were left to his successor to cope with. The resolute Hadrian at once refused investiture or recognition to William I., on his accession in 1154, and brought the Senate to a complete surrender by the terrible weapon of the Interdict. They were allowed absolution only on condition of the expulsion of Arnold of Brescia, who fled from Rome in the course of Holy Week, 1155. On June 18th, Frederick himself was within the walls of Rome, and received the Imperial Crown at St. Peter's. But both he and the Pope had to evacuate the city, where the commune which the Emperor despised met them with a stubborn resistance, and Hadrian became for a time an exile like Eugenius.

They avenged themselves at least upon Arnold of Brescia. The latter had found shelter with a count of the Campagna, but his defender had had to surrender him as Frederick marched upon Rome. He was handed over to the City Prefect, and condemned, at the same moment that Pope and Emperor retired to Soracte, to die as a heretic and

rebel. The sentence was put into effect, and the reformer's ashes thrown into the Tiber. Erastian as he was, Republican, even Imperialist, filled with dreams of a Church purged from head to members, he died without a friend, and almost without a chronicler.

During these events Roger's successor was threatened by a coalition of internal rebels and the old foes. The Apulian baronage and the house of Capua were again in arms, and the Greeks took Bari (end of 1155). But after a brief struggle the kingdom which Roger had left so strong recovered its balance; by May, 1156, the Greek conquests had vanished, the rebels were scattered; and the treaty of Benevento (18th June, 1156) left William I. a practical victor in the duel of Pope and King. The Pope then abandoned the cause of the disinherited barons of Apulia and Campania, and invested William not only in Amalfi, Salerno, Apulia, and Capua, but also in the lands *ultra Marsiam*, that is to say in all the northern conquests up to the Tronto. William took for these the oath of homage and undertook to pay annually six hundred *schifati* for the older dominions and five hundred for the Marsia. Thus Hadrian in conceding Amalfi, Capua, and the northern conquests, legitimised possessions which his predecessors for a hundred years had refused to legalise. A great settlement of ecclesiastical disputes was made. For the mainland territories the Pope was to exercise the right of summoning synods,

receiving appeals, and sending legates. In Sicily, the right of legation and appeals was not to be exercised by the Pope save at the demand of the King. Here the chapters were to deliberate in secret on the election of new bishops but the King might reject their choice. On the mainland the right of consecration and visit was reserved to the Pope, save in the towns where the King might be. The treaty of Benevento covered all that had been fought for by the Popes and the Norman princes for a hundred years, and practically settled every outstanding question.

The last cares of Roger were to provide for the succession. The King had been thrice married, but of five sons only one remained to take his place.

Roger's first wife was Elvira, daughter of Alfonso VI. of Castile,¹ whom he married at some date before 1118, and who was the mother of five sons, Roger, Tancred, Alfonso, William, and Henry, and a daughter. On Elvira's death (6th February, 1135), the King remained long years solitary, but finally, in 1149, married Sybilla, daughter of Hugh of Burgundy; she died on September 19, 1151, and the King took as his third wife, Beatrice, daughter of the Count of Rethel, in the hope of further sons. His last wife bore to him a posthumous child,

¹ For Roger's marriages see Garufi, *I diplomi purpurei della cancelleria normanna*, in *Atti della R. academia di Scienze lettere ed arti*, series iii., t. vii., where the chronology of Roger's marriages is cleared up.

Constance, destined, after Roger's legitimate male line had expired, to carry the kingdom with her to the Swabians and so to change the course of its history.

For the five sons of Elvira, Roger contemplated appanages which would gather all Southern Italy securely into Hauteville hands. In the course of 1134 and 1135, as we saw, he invested Roger with Apulia, Tancred with Bari, and Alfonso with Naples and Capua. The second son died however (on a 16th of March, between 1138 and 1140), and the princedom of Taranto embracing Bari was conferred on William, who was now growing up. In 1144 (10th October), Alfonso also died, and William received the princedom of Capua and the duchy of Naples. The youngest son, Henry, died in infancy, and the last blow fell upon Roger when in 1148 (2d May) the gallant and soldierly Roger, now thirty years old, died, leaving a widow, Elisabeth of Champagne, without children. William thereupon succeeded his eldest brother as Duke of Apulia, but had to renounce Naples and Capua.

In addition to his legitimate sons the King had several natural children; one of these, Simon, son of a sister of Hugh, Count of Molise, was now created Prince of Taranto.

William, a man whom his father had never entrusted with a command in war, or the management of affairs, remained the last hope of the old King. A bride was found for him in Margaret, daughter of Garcia VI. Ramirez, King of Navarre.

On April 8, 1151, he was associated in the monarchy and crowned with great pomp at Palermo by Archbishop Hugh. In reply to the Pope's indignant protest that his consent had not been asked, Roger replied with the high tone of former days that the Archbishop had received the pallium and therefore had the right to crown the princes of Sicily.

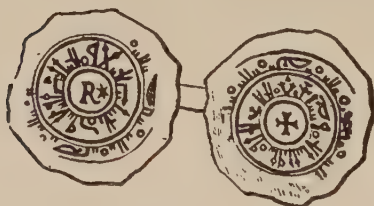
The empires of East and West had never recognised the kingdom which Roger had created, and for fourteen years a succession of Popes had refused the Papal sanction to what was technically a fief of St. Peter. But Roger, who had claimed always to be *a deo coronatus*, asserted the highest claims of sovereignty to the last among the kings of Europe.

The King's health had now for some years been declining, and his death was hastened by the indulgence to which he had early been habituated in his half-oriental court, with its seraglio and its slaves. He was now in his fifty-ninth year; on February 26, 1154, he died at Palermo, either of a fever or according to an Arab author of a disease of the heart.¹ A sarcophagus of porphyry had been prepared for him since 1145, in his foundation of Cefalú, and now received the king's body. On the completion of the Cathedral of Palermo under William II. this sarcophagus was transferred thither; a large side chapel now contains the

¹ Romuald, anno MCLII., says "of a fever"; Ibn-el-Athir, "of angina"; v. *B. A. S.*, iii., p. 122.

marble tombs of Roger, his daughter Constance, and her husband the Emperor Henry VI. In the course of the centuries that of the King has been more than once opened, the royal body was found dressed in the robes and the tiara which the Norman rulers of lower Italy adapted from the pomp of Constantinople.¹

¹ See Daniele, *I regali sepolcri del Duomo di Palermo*, and plates C.F.R. at end of vol.



TARIS OF ROBERT GUISCARD,
PRINCE OF SALERNO

CHAPTER VIII

ROGER'S PERSONALITY: HIS COURT: HIS CHRONICLERS

THERE exists only one contemporary representation of Roger. On the wall of the Church of the Martorana in Palermo a mosaic shows the great King being crowned by the Saviour. Roger wears the dalmatic of the Legateship and the Byzantine imperial costume. Over his head is inscribed in Greek characters Ρογεριος Πηξ; cufic characters on an adjoining pillar complete the impression of the blending of civilisations. The King has a full black beard and moustache; perhaps the portrait is merely conventional, it is at all events the only reputed portrait of Roger II.¹ We learn more from a written description of a contemporary,² who tells us that the King was

¹ The caricatures of the Berne MS. of Peter of Eboli represent Roger also as a black-bearded man. Bertaux (*op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 355) considers the enamelled plaque in St. Nicholas of Bari, which represents Roger, to be of late date, probably made at Limoges from a portrait sent from Apulia, the figure showing mistakes in costume which no Greek workman would have made. St. Nicholas claims, but without basis, that Roger was crowned there in 1130, instead of at Palermo.

² Romuald, anno 1153.

tall in stature, stoutly made, with a leonine face and a loud but harsh voice.

The judgments passed upon Roger's character by the historians of the time are such as one might assume from a survey of his reign. There was nothing of the headlong warrior about him; he relied more upon his intellect than upon his sword: he so disposed himself at all times against an enemy that he always triumphed without bloodshed.¹ He was everywhere more feared than beloved; in public he showed himself stern, in private he could show affability, but even there he preferred to inspire fear rather than encourage familiarity; not only Greeks and Arabs but his own subjects also were afraid of him.² Friend and foe alike eulogised his instinct for justice. He did justice even against his own son.³ He was a stern lover of what was just, he hated all who spoke lies, he faithfully paid his soldiers their hire, and never forejudged a case.⁴ Subtle in mind, great in counsel, possessed of the keenest understanding, he was always ready with wise answers to rash talk. If he generally preferred his own opinion in the end, he was patient in seeking and hearing the opinions of his Curia. The founder of a new kingdom, he had enquiry made into the customs of other kings and peoples

¹ "Magis utens ratione quam viribus," Romuald, *ibid.* Al. Tel., iv., ch. iii.

² Romuald, *ibid.*

³ Ibn el Athir, *B. A. S.*, i., 450.

⁴ Al. Tel. *op. cit.*

so that he could adopt what was most useful and sound. In the same way he drew to his service men famous in war or in counsel, especially preferring the transalpine and the French nations as most warlike and because he traced his own origin from the Normans.¹ He showed as great an inclination to the work and the details of civil government as of war, conquest, and diplomacy. His historian, Alexander of Telese, represents him as spending his spare time in poring over accounts. Like a Frederick, he had no ministers but only "heads of departments," like Philip II. and like Louis XIV., whose power was scarcely more absolute than his own, he summed up in himself the State, loved to see personally into all the daily workings of government, and was himself his own chief clerk.

The cruelty displayed by Roger in his campaigns was, if we take the evidence of contemporaries, far beyond the practices of the age. His treatment of his rival Rainulf's body and his vindictive triumph at the end of the twelve years' war are bitterly resented by Falco of Benevento; his rage when he entered Troia in 1133, the completeness of his revenge upon the Prince of Bari and his supporters in 1139, his inflexible determination against certain of his insurgents, all show his tendency to sustained and calculated savagery, to a vindictiveness that burned white-hot. To the historian of Benevento he is worse than Nero,²

¹ Falcandus, *Del Rè*, i., pp. 286-7.

² Falco, 1133.

to the chronicler of Casauria he is "the terrible one who made the very mountains tremble before his face." Even his eulogist of Telese admits his cruelty but justifies it as a necessity.

Yet there was method and finality to Roger's severities, as a contemporary saw¹: he was hard-pressed by frequent coalitions; the insurrectionary temper of the Apulian and Campanian towns and baronage was irrepressible; more than once his kingdom was at stake. Besides, he had the mind of a legislator and organiser; like a Napoleon he felt his time all too brief, and justified any measure that cleared the way to the serious work of his reign.

Here and there the chroniclers and the charters give us some side-lights upon Roger's more intimate character. We can see how deeply and for how long a time he was affected by the death of his wife Elvira; in the same way he is saddened by the loss of three sons in succession who had been most loyal lieutenants to him. A despot of the Renaissance in statecraft and cruelty, he displayed like them some love of the beautiful; it is told of him that he halted once in the midst of a desperate campaign to admire the beauty of his rival's town of Alife with its streams.² Born too early for the Troubadours or the arts of the growing

¹ Otto of Freising, *Chron.*, bk. vii., ch. 23, who says that Roger loved peace more than other princes; to preserve it he struck down the rebels with every conceivable ferocity.

² Al. Tel., iii., ch. xviii.

Renaissance, he was a patron of what science there was in that age, showing a constant interest in mathematics, geography, and kindred sciences. His interest in fortification was natural in one who was both a conqueror and a statesman, and we might apply to him the title of a "mediæval Vauban" were we in possession of fuller details of his castle-building. But everywhere we see him securing conquered territory with strong fortresses well-manned with garrisons; thus Naples during a long siege is hemmed in by a ring of castles. The model of his fortifications was the rock-castle of Caiazzo, which, taken from Rainulf in 1135, he rebuilt, making it so strong that he declared it was well-fitted to defend his crown. On the feudatories and the townsfolk who dwelt around it he imposed the stringent duty of its upkeep and laid upon them the responsibility of "castle-guard." At the close of his final victory he had bridled the whole of the mainland with numerous strongly-defended royal fortresses, and had deprived his barons of the right to erect castles save where the jealous power of the Crown gave permission. His victory indeed was largely owing to his fortifications, to which he trusted far more than to pitched battles, and we have already quoted the vivid words of a chronicler of the time as to the extensive system of defence along all the frontiers and coasts which obtained at the close of the wars in 1144.

It was under Roger that Palermo became the

capital, without a rival, of the Norman kingdom. His youth had been spent mainly in that city, and there alone he could shroud himself in the semi-Byzantine, semi-Moslem life which was made a reproach to him. Sicily was at all times a safe retreat from which to watch the events of the mainland and prepare for further action. Besides this, his natural preference was for Palermo with its groves of orange and almond filling all the beautiful valley of Conca d' Oro, and the cool winds blowing from Monte Pellegrino. From 1130 on, and through most strenuous years, he almost invariably returns to Palermo for the winter; only in 1137 and 1138 does he seem to have remained on the mainland; after he had emerged triumphantly from his danger he spends more and more time in his native island; from 1144 to 1149 he is mainly at Palermo, and from the summer of 1150 he returns no more to Italy.

It was natural that Palermo and its neighbourhood should show traces of his piety and magnificence. Of all the churches which he founded his favourite was the cathedral of Cefalù. The foundation of this was laid in 1131, as a thanksgiving after escape from shipwreck in 1129. The King confided to the keeping of the bishop the marble sarcophagus in which he wished to be buried¹; his throne is still to be seen in the church.

¹ "Sarcophagos vero duos porphyriticos ad decessus mei signum perpetuum conspicuos in præfata ecclesia stabilimus fore permansuros." See Daniele, *I regali sepolcri*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

Its Norman arcading, Arabic pointed arches, and mosaics show the hand of craftsmen of many nations. The mosaics are as beautiful to-day as when they were made (1145-1148) and the great Byzantine Christ over the chancel is only to be matched by Venice and Monreale.

An even more beautiful piece of work is the Cappella Reale or Palatina, of Palermo, which was begun in 1129 and finally consecrated in 1140. Whatever the severer beauties of northern cathedrals may be, the royal chapel remains the most gorgeous of all Western churches, a gem of colour and lightness, the highest product of that diverse and cosmopolitan civilisation over which Roger presided. Its Norman bronze and iron doors, the Saracenic arches, its floors and pillars inlaid with gorgeous mosaics, its Byzantine dome covered with Greek and Latin inscriptions, and the wooden roof of its nave adorned with cufic scripts in praise of Allah and the King, form an artistic unity to which Arabs and Byzantines contributed more than Latins. The sacristy and the archive are full of treasures of the period; outside the door an inscription in Greek, Arabic, and Latin tells one that here was hung the water-clock of King Roger, but the words have outlived the instrument.¹ This *clepsydra* was as famous in its time as the water-clock which Harûn-al-Raschid presented to Charlemagne; it was apparently made by an Arab of Malta.

¹ Amari, *S. D. M.*, iii., p. 684, and *B. A. S.*, ii., p. 143.

A second church in Palermo which we owe to the King is S. Giovanni degli Eremiti, founded in 1132, and raised on the site of an earlier building of Gregory the Great. Its five red domes give it the aspect of a mosque and make it the most exotic-looking of all the churches of Palermo, and a beautiful ruined Arabo-Norman cloister confirms the impression.

Roger's one palace which we hear of on the mainland was that of Terracina near Salerno. In and about Palermo he built or restored several royal residences. Castellamare, raised by Guiscard on the site of a Moslem fortress, was more of a castle than a palace. The home of the Sicilian emirs had been *El-Halka* (the encircling), which stood on the site of the later Palazzo Reale; here Robert raised a citadel and Roger a palace, by the side of the Cappella, which was merged later in the royal residence. On the site of his grandson's later cathedral of Monreale the King also made a palace with the usual gardens and fish-ponds, and yet another at Altarello di Baida called Mimnermo, where his ruined Arabic summer-house still stands. But his favourite residences were Favara and Parco. According to a contemporary Roger used to spend his winter at the one and his summer at the other. Favara or Castello di Mare Dolce was built by the King—in 1120 according to Falcandus—on the site of a former emir's palace, and at the western foot of Monte Grifone. This château with its wide Oriental court remained the

favourite abode of Roger's successors and was the wonder of several travellers whose descriptions have come down to us. The chapel survives entire, and lemon groves surround the ruins of the rest.¹

Parco was nearer to Palermo, and lay among the numerous orchards to the south-east of the capital in a valley watered by the Oreto. Of the palace which Roger built and enclosed with wide hunting grounds nothing remains. There were other royal residences at Patti and Messina, built like Favara and Parco, for delight rather than defence, thrown open to the sun and surrounded by gardens and groves, places of splendour and luxuriance little like the castle-residences of the rulers of France and England.²

The state-dress of the King was, as we know from the contents found in the royal tombs, the tiara, mantle, and dalmatic of the Greek Basileus. Legate Apostolic no less than heir to the Greek lord of Italy, he is also shown on seals wearing the alb, dalmatic, mitre, and sandals of a Legate. On the gold seal attached to a diploma given in favour of the abbey of La Cava he is represented in full state, on his head a tiara from both sides of which hang pendants of pearls, a tunic reaching

¹ Amari, *S. D. M.*, iii., p. 801, and Daniele, *op. cit.*, tables C.F.R.

² The *Itinerarium* of Benjamin of Tudela, 1172 (ed. Nathan Adler, pp. 78-9), relates that there was a lake or reservoir at Favara on which golden galleys carried the King (William II.) and his ladies; the walls of the palace within were painted with gold and silver and its pavements were all mosaic.

to the ankles richly adorned and girded about the waist, a mantle above that, in his right hand the globe surmounted by the cross and in the uplifted left a staff reaching to the ground and having a four-cornered knob at the upper end, to right and left of him a Greek inscription.¹ Save for the imperfect Greek it would serve as the seal of any Byzantine Emperor. He is represented much in the same dress upon his coins, that is upon those silver ducats and thirds of a ducat with which at Ariano he superseded the *romesini* formerly current.

The gold bull or chrysobul spoken of above is as much a tribute to the predominant influence of Byzantium as the royal costume and titles are. Beside the La Cava example, only one of these curious and precious seals has come down to us from the Norman-Italian period, the second being one of William II. Almost as rare as the chrysobuls are deeds drawn up in gold lettering on purple ground. Of this two examples, if they are really genuine, survive: the charter of Roger to the Cappella Palatina, 1140, and another of 1134, in the interest of the Pierleoni.² Both are of parch-

¹ Viz.: IOIEPIOC KPA-AIOC BUCBBICPIC (*sic*), i.e., "Rogerius krataios eusebes rex." Vide Engel et Serrure, *Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Âge*, 85, no. 13, also Mabillon-Germain, *Mus. Ital.*, 118, and *Bibl. des Écoles des Chartes*, v., série 111, 1862, p. 428.

² Kehr, *Urkunden*, p. 136, says that the Cappella Palatina purple diploma is not an original; the Pierleone example is in the Barberini Library, Rome. V. *ibid.*, pp. 136-7 *seq.*, for a discussion as to whether the deeds of Roger's Chancellery were commonly drawn up on paper. According to the writer all

ment, stained through with a purple dye and the letters written in gold.

The actual court garments of Roger survive and are the best witness of the royal splendour and the cosmopolitan influences of the court. Among these is the King's mantle, the mantle, it might be, of an emir, woven apparently in Palermo in 1133. It is of red silk and half circular in shape to fit around the shoulders. Arab inscriptions in neshki characters are woven upon it and it is embroidered with floral designs in pearl and gold. Two tigers or lions are represented upon one side of the mantle, and two camels upon the other; the former are pulling down the opposing animals.¹

The King's titles from the first express his high conception of his office and their varied forms show him as not only a ruler over Latins but over Greeks and Moslems. He is variously "*magnificus rex*," "*christianorum adiutor et clypeus*," "*rex dei gratia*," "*cælestis rex*," finally in his full glory as "*dominus noster Sycilie et Ytalie nec non totius regni Africe serenissimus et invictissimus rex a deo coronatus pius felix triumphator semper augustus*." His titles

surviving diplomata are drawn up on parchment except possibly that of the Cappella Palatina. The Byzantine imperial diploma of 1079 now in the Archivio of the latter is parchment. Yet paper was known from the Spanish Arabs and apparently used for documents. V. Huillard-Bréholles *op. cit.* ii., 440.

¹ Roger's court dress is now with the Hohenstaufen relics in the Imperial Treasury at Vienna. V. Bock, *Die Kleinodien des hl. Röm. Reichs deutschen Nation*, p. 27.

are almost as numerous in Greek and Arabic documents.

Roger's relations with his Moslem subjects were naturally intimate. In addition to firmly maintaining the toleration-system of his father, who is called in an Arabic deed "the Grand Sultan," the King made Palermo his capital, a city which in the beginning of his reign must have been more Moslem than Christian.

We have seen that while his fleet came mainly from the coast towns, his permanent army was predominantly Arab. His Moslem mercenaries were apparently enlisted by commanders of their own faith who formed a native aristocracy (*Djund*). In campaigns they served both as infantry and as horse-archers. Apparently the Arab engineers were also more highly valued than Latins or Greeks; at the siege of Montepeloso, 1133, it is the Arabs who work the movable towers; fifty years later at the taking of Thessalonica (1185) the breach in the walls is made by the huge crossbows or mangonels of the Moslem engineers.¹

It is interesting then to see what his Arab subjects and contemporaries say of the King who according to Ibn el Athir was rumoured to be himself a Moslem, who in Arab documents is styled "holy and reverend." Though we have little evidence upon his private morals it is certain that his court contained the seraglio and the eunuchs familiar to Eastern courts, and that he

¹ Amari, *S. D. M.*, iii., pp. 537, 688.

lived among Moslem women and slaves as his son and grandson are described as living. An Arabic contemporary states that he used to go forth on the religious processions under the gala umbrella which the Fatimite khalifs used.¹

The King delighted in the company of learned Moslems, towards whom he showed that benignity of which he was not devoid. It is recorded that when any learned man, of any creed soever, entered into his presence, the King stood up, went to meet him, and made him sit down by his side. Ibn el Athir speaks of a Moslem doctor attached to the court who was of eminent learning and virtue; the King especially trusted him, and preferred him to the priests and monks of the palace. This was probably the famous Edrisi. In the same place this historian describes an incident at court which illustrates the Moslem conception of Roger's magnanimity.²

It was at the time when Islam was reviving in the East and Zenki of Mosul, leader of a Holy War, broke in on the colonies founded by the first Crusaders and captured Edessa (1144). On the authority of a very learned man it is told that the Frankish prince of Sicily had made a naval expedition against Tripoli of the West and that the Franks had put that country to sack and slaughter. There lived then in Sicily a learned Moslem, held in great reverence by the Sicilian

¹ Ibn-Hammad in Amari, *B. A. S.*, i., p. 509.

² *B. A. S.*, i., p. 463.

prince, who listened to his words and placed him before the monks and priests of his court, by reason of which the people of that country whispered that the King was a Mussulman. One day while the King was seated in an open terrace from which the sea was in full view, there appeared on the horizon a small barque which brought news that the army of the King had entered the Moslem territory and won a victory. The Mussulman seated by the King's side paid no attention. The King then, turning to him, said, "Thou" (calling him by name), "hast thou not heard the news?" And he said "No." Then said the King, "They say this and this. Where then was Mohammed—he had perchance forgotten that country and its inhabitants?" And the Mussulman said to him, "Yes, he was far away; he was assisting at the taking of Edessa, which this very moment has been captured by the Moslems." Some Franks who were present made mock of him, but the King said to them, "There is nothing to smile at here, by God. What that man says is always true." And after some days there arrived letters from the Franks of Syria which announced the capture of Edessa.

Some fragments remain of the odes with which Arab poets eulogised the King, his sons, and his splendour, pitched in the note of Oriental imagery; it is not recorded whether Roger, like his son and grandson, understood Arabic, but it may be assumed that he was able to listen with pleasure to these

courtier poets.¹ One Abd-er-Rahman wrote in praise of Favara, of its cool open courts and playing fountains:

Thy waters divide themselves into new brooks;
how peacefully they flow apart! The pure limpid
water of both the springs seems like liquid pearls
and spreads itself as it were an ocean, while the great
fish swim in the clear wave, and the birds among the
gardens chant their songs.

The poet Abu-ad-daw wrote a lament for the
King's gallant eldest born, Roger:

His tents weep him, and his palaces; the swords and
the lances are for him like women mourners. Hearts
are rent with grief no less than garments; the hands
of the brave have fallen; valiant souls are filled with
dread; their words fail the eloquent.

Another fragment of Arab poetry says of Roger,
"on the darkness shines his brilliant face, the sun
might be envious of him; he has pitched his tent
where the Gemini rise, its pegs are the two great
lights of Heaven, and the Pleiades."

The most distinguished Moslem whose name is
associated with that of Roger is the geographer
Abu-Abd-Allah Mohammed Edrisi. Edrisi stands
unique among the geographers of the Middle
Age; he is "the Strabo of the Arabs." He was a
man of the Prophet's kin, and his long life (1099-
1180) was devoted to the study of the world. He
was born at Ceuta and studied at Cordova, and

¹ Schack, *Poesie der Araber in Spanien u. Sicilien*, ii., *loc. var*

was drawn to Roger's court about 1140. There he became a close friend of the King and his guide in the humane sciences.¹

Roger's last fourteen years were spent largely in the scientific speculations which he loved. Geography and mathematics were his passion, and his patronage left to science finally "the greatest geographical monument of the Middle Ages." Knowing well the works of Orosius, Ptolemy, and some of the Arabs, he desired to have complete knowledge not only concerning his own kingdom, but also about the whole Seven Climes or *Climata* into which current learned belief divided the inhabited world. Edrisi arrived in time to aid the King, and the savant did the work of the prince. A commission was appointed with the Arab as secretary, to improve on the previous work of authors and professors "who were no wiser than the books," to revise the map of the world, and to obtain general information as to the world's races, countries, towns, seas, islands, roads, and distances from place to place. The commission sought information at first hand from most varied classes of people. Arab merchants gave all that they knew of Africa, Arabia, India, Spain, and the Moslem world; Greeks at court described the East and the Empire; returning Crusaders and distin-

¹ For Edrisi's works see *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, 2d ser., vol. viii. (1876-77). The whole text of his *Book of Roger* is in Jaubert, *Recueil des voyages* (Paris, 1836), bks. v. and vi.



MAP OF THE WORLD, FROM EDRISI'S GEOGRAPHY
(FROM THE BODLEIAN CODEX OF THE *Geographia Nubiensis*)

guished visitors were called in; Roger himself and his pardoned rebel barons knew all Apulia and Southern Italy; the King's uncle, Henry, described his native Piedmont and Northern Italy; information came from a thousand sources, and fact and fable were set down together.

The net result of the whole work was, first, a silver planisphere weighing 450 Roman pounds, on which were traced in their equal distances, as far as was known, the gulfs, seas, and other physical and topographical features of the globe; secondly a map or series of maps of the earth; and thirdly the geographical work of Edrisi himself containing the information and explanatory notices intended to illustrate the planisphere and the maps, a book commonly called *The Book of Roger*, "the delight of whoso wisheth to traverse the world." This was published in 1154, the year of the King's death, and dedicated to him. The silver disc or orb was destroyed in anti-Moslem riots under Roger's successor. The original maps or charts are also lost, and only imperfect or partial copies remain of them.

The *Book of Roger* itself became a classic among Arab geographers, and many copies were made of it. In Europe, after little had been known of it for four and a half centuries, the fragments of the work were published in Rome and in Paris, 1592 and 1619, under the name of *Geographia Nubiensis*, since when it has been well known in the West.

Edrisi used the Ptolemaic division into *Climata*

for mapping out the world. He took up a scheme of vertical division corresponding to our meridians, by which each of the seven Climes was divided again into ten parts. These were spaced out into Arabic miles, and by that the distances of places apart were reckoned, by means of the calculations of travellers in "day's marches," the best known parts of the Mediterranean lands being taken as a starting-point. The descriptions in the book amplified the knowledge conveyed in the drawn charts, and the silver planisphere reproduced the flat map on a concave surface.

What was the exact shape of this silver instrument? Edrisi says, "the world is a ball floating in the clouds of Heaven like the yolk in an egg," but the only inhabited part of the earth is the upper or, as it seemed, the northern half. That the world was round was surmised by the best minds, Arab and Latin, even if the vulgar opinion held that it was flat. However, as the southern half of the earth was to his mind burned with the sun and unpeopled, Edrisi must have constructed the silver instrument as the upper half of a globe, and not a complete ball, as some have thought.

The importance of Roger's and Edrisi's work for later times is not so much its advancement of exact knowledge as in the mass of information, literary, geographical, zoölogical, historical which it enshrined, and which represents the outlook of the best minds of the age upon the world in which they lived. It was a great thing to break away

from the old maps, and from empirical bases to produce charts superior to all previous ones; yet the maps are naturally not true even in the case of Southern Italy itself, and become hopeless farther north.

But in the *Book of Roger* itself was set down everything that could be garnered, ranging from accurate details of well-known places to fables about distant lands, poetic descriptions of towns, historical notices, strange pieces of natural history. It is an interesting mediæval travellers' book, full of fact and fable.

In the first *Clima* is Africa "where there are blacks who go all naked and marry without dowry or legitimacy. There do not exist human beings who give birth to a greater number of children." There are the Beghamiens, who are black Berbers, burned by the sun which has changed the colour of their skins. In Nubia the women are of ravishing beauty, thin lips, little mouths, white teeth, flowing and not crisp hair; no women are so much desired as slaves. Socotra is famous for its aloes;

the greater part of the inhabitants are Christians and this is the reason. When Alexander had conquered the King of the Persians and his fleets had subdued the Indian Isles, his master, Aristotle, advised him to discover the isle which produced aloes. So, after conquering the other Indian islands, Alexander went from the Indian sea to that of Oman, and so at last to Socotra. At Aristotle's advice he

removed the natives and placed Ionian Greeks there to cultivate the aloes, without which the sovereign remedies could not be completely produced. They remained there, and when Messiah appeared, they became Christians.

Edrisi speaks also of the cannibals of Borneo and the Malay Isles, of the seven castes of the Indians, of the intelligence of the elephants, of the *Bagh-Bûgh* or "King of Kings" of China, whose religion is Buddhism and the cult of idols; all of which information came to him from the vast extent of Islam. In Eastern Asia he reproduces the old fable of the two countries of Gog and Magog, sons of Shem. In treating of Europe, he grows more fabulous as he goes north or west, and Alexander the Great, as in many Arab stories, appears everywhere. "Andalous [Spain] is washed by the gloomy ocean; no one knows what is in that Sea of the Night, save great waves like mountains, tempests, and monstrous animals." "Alexander penetrated into Andalous. Before that the Mediterranean was a closed sea; the height of the two seas [Atlantic and Mediterranean] was unequal. Alexander therefore cut a canal between Tangier and Andalous of six miles' length, and the sea rushed in."

In the seventh *Clima* are the British Isles. England "has a shape like the head of an ostrich; the country is fertile, its inhabitants are brave, active, enterprising; but perpetual winter reigns

there." Scotland has neither habitations, towns, nor villages. Of Ireland he reproduces the well-known legend of St. Brendan.

Naturally, Edrisi's book is best on Italy, especially on Sicily, "a pearl of the world," and Apulia, "country of the Lombards," and he gives a careful description of Palermo, with its mosques and Moslem population. His sketch of Rome reflects the mind of a Moslem, tinged with Arab fables, and the conception of the Pope as a kind of Christian khalif.

Rome is one of the columns of Christianity and the seat of a patriarch. A river divides the city from east to west. Its bottom is paved with sheets of copper so that no one can cast anchor there. The Romans count by means of this river, and speak of dates as "from the year of the copper." The ships with their freights enter into Rome by this river, and are drawn thus freighted right up to the very shops of the merchants. Within the city rises a grand church constructed under the names of the Apostles Peter and Paul; nine hundred spans in length, six hundred wide, and three hundred high. In Rome, there are 1200 churches; the streets are paved in white and blue marble. There is a church of magnificent architecture modelled on the design of that of Jerusalem, as wide as long . . . and all adorned outside with green emeralds. Twelve statues of pure gold support the table of that altar; each statue is in height seven and a half spans, and has eyes of rubies . . . In the city of Rome there is a palace of the Sovereign, who is

called the Pope. No one is superior to him in power; the Kings are subject to him and consider him equal to the Creator. He governs with equity, redresses injustices, aids the weak and the poor, and protects the oppressed against the oppressors. His decrees have force over all the Kings of the Romans [of Europe] and none of them can oppose him.

At such an estimation of Papal power the King of Sicily must have smiled.

In the preface of his book, Edrisi dedicates it at length to King Roger.

This great King, whom Heaven has loaded with glory and power, is the best and most celebrated among monarchs. His absolute will is the motive of his conduct in state affairs, all the art of government has fixed itself in his person. He unites high intellect and goodness; to these are joined his resolution, sharp understanding, deep spirit, foresight, his skill in all measures, which betray a masterful intellect. He overlooks the whole range of his sovereignty, his sleep is as the awakening of other men. I cannot enumerate his knowledge of the exact and technical sciences, nor set bounds to his wisdom.

Such was one of the most devoted tasks of scholarship which any man undertook in that age, which afforded little material for the exact sciences, a work which cannot be disappointing to us when we consider the circumstances. Its completion delighted the first King of the house of

Hauteville in his later years and gratified that scientific interest which was undoubtedly his even if we discount much of the Arab's eulogies.

It would be to claim too much for Roger II. to say that he surrounded himself with an academy of the fame and number, for instance, of Charlemagne's. Vernacular Romance poetry had scarcely arisen; even the Latin historians of his reign are not of particular merit; nor did the King possess any of that wit, the turn for satirical verses, the literary bent which his famous grandson Frederick II. displayed a hundred years later. Roger's tastes were for the exact sciences, the pursuit of which was still mainly the monopoly of Greeks and Arabs, especially of the latter. If we add to the actual circle of the learned around the King, authors who resided in Palermo and produced their works in his reign, we may assume a little school of the wise drawing their inspiration from and enjoying the patronage of the Crown. Of the five prominent names, two, Abus-Salt Ommeia and Edrisi, were Moslems, the remaining three, Eugenius, Nilus Doxopatrius, Theophanes Cerameus, were Greeks. Of these, three were students of mechanics, geography, astronomy, the last two were respectively ecclesiastical controversialist and preacher.

The homilies of the court preacher Theophanes Cerameus are not of great literary or theological value. They remain interesting as showing the favour which Roger showed towards those Greek

ecclesiastics whom he pitted against the Roman Curia and his own Latin clerics, and as illustrating the language in which they addressed him. Of the sermons which Theophanes preached before the King—moral expositions avoiding the dangerous ground of dogma—the most interesting is that delivered on Palm Sunday, 1140, at the consecration of the Cappella Palatina. The King is addressed in terms more adulatory than Western court chaplains were accustomed to use, and the praises of the new foundation are sung in an imagery somewhat florid and Oriental.

A joy day is this feast because of the numerous assembly of illustrious men, but its greatest adornment is the presence of the King who sits before us not in the glory of the Crown alone but also in the glory of high deeds, and yet not trusting in these but fast and sure in the faith of God through whom he has become so great . . . Yet thy deeds of valour, O King, thy victories granted from God, thy deeds of fame and trophies are to other ages by other men appraised and shall be for ever: so long as the sea is bounded by the dry land, they will praise thy deeds to the end.

Of more enduring interest is a literary work of the Archimandrite Nilus Doxopatrius. This Greek of Palermo produced in 1143, and dedicated to Roger, his book on the five Patriarchal Sees (τάξις τῶν πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων), of which a modern writer says, "Scarcely anything in contem-

porary Western literature is so clear and well unfolded."¹ Nilus declares that the Patriarchates of Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria, founded by Peter, are quite independent of one another. To these were added by the Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Chalcedon (325, 381, 451 A.D.) Jerusalem and Constantinople. Rome indeed had the Primacy at first because the city was the capital of the Empire, but since then, fallen under barbarian masters, it had ceased to be an imperial city. Meanwhile, Constantinople, called "New Rome" at Chalcedon, remained equal to the old Rome, and had gained the Primacy since the Emperor now resided there. Sicily and Calabria, he continues, since Rome fell under barbarians, have been subject to Constantinople, and the Archbishop of Syracuse with twenty-one suffragans is subject to the eastern Patriarch. The "Franks" *i.e.*, the Normans, had brought the Papacy with them; it should be Roger's work to undo this and subject to the Patriarch his former possessions.

The work of Nilus was a bold piece of pamphleteering, and the tone of it implies that the author was confident of the royal *imprimatur*. It is improbable that Roger would have subjected his dominions in whole or part to the Greek Patriarch. But he was tempted by the prospect of being as absolute temporally over his churches as the

¹ Caspar, *Die Gründung*, *op. cit.*, p. 460. Parthey, *Hieroclis synecdemus . . . Nili Doxapatrii notitia Patriarchatum . . .* Berlin, 1866.

Basileus, and the work of Nilus was a weapon of argument useful to him in the continued quarrel with the Papacy.

Doxopatrius is known for one further piece of work, the translation of the prophecies or oracles of the Sybil Erythrea from Chaldaic into Greek. It has, of course, merely the interest of a curiosity; astrology and necromancy of all kinds were apparently under Roger, and clearly so under his two successors, taken with great seriousness at court.

A translation of the Erythrean Oracles from Greek into Latin was made by the Admiral Eugenius, a Greek of Palermo. The latter also was the translator of Ptolemy's *Optica* from Arabic into Latin; his Arabic original is lost, but the version of Eugenius remained for some centuries the only form of the Optics known to the West.¹ The Arabs who preserved so much of classical learning that was now lost in the West gave it back to Europe by the circuitous routes of Spain and Sicily, and it was the polyglot scholars of these half-Moslem countries who were the sources of transmission.

¹ Amari, *S. D. M.*, iii., p. 657 *seq.*, is doubtful as to Eugenius's "floruit"; *vide* Sternbach, p. 406 *seq.*, in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, xi., 1902, for a long poem of ὁ κυρὸς ὁ φιλόσοφος εὐγενὸς upon moral virtues, etc., and a poem addressed to him by one κυρὸς Ποργεῖλος of Otranto. He is spoken of as Archon and Emir and, though Sternbach does not pronounce on the question, seems identical with Eugenius of the Optics. On the other hand as John, a son of Eugenius, is alive in 1201 it is very likely that Eugenius flourished rather under the two Williams. For Latin text of Optics *v.* Govi, *L'Ottica di Claudio Tolomeo da Eugenio*.

From the scientific and polemical writers of Roger's reign we turn to the historians. The fullest outlines of his life are given by three native Latin authors, but naturally many details are painted in by historians who properly belong to an earlier or later period and by writers of the Moslem, the Western, the Greek, and the North Italian states with which he came into contact.¹

To the main Latin historians of the reign, Peter the Deacon, Falco of Benevento, and Alexander of Telese, we may also add Falcandus for the latter years, though he is properly a historian of the next reign. The work of Peter the Deacon, of Monte Cassino, is that of a very readable if not an amiable author.² Peter, born in 1107, was a son of the Roman Egidius, who himself was a great-grandson of Alberic and Marozia, famous in the days of the "Pornocracy." Offered as a child in 1115 to the abbey of Monte Cassino, he spent most of his days there and later won the favour of the Abbot Seniorectus. A fluent writer and tireless transcriber, he was made librarian of the abbey, and entrusted by his Superior with the continuation of the work of Leo of Ostia, whose history of Monte Cassino had ended with the year 1075. Peter carried on this work as far as 1139; we owe also to him a Register of his abbey nearly as large if not as trustworthy as the famous Farfa Register, and various lives of saints and worthies of Monte

¹ See Appendix B on the sources for this reign. [†]

² *Chron. Casinensis*, ed. Wattenbach, *M.G.H.SS.*, vii.

Cassino. Vain and boastful, at times an undisguised plagiarist, and most probably a falsifier of documents in the interests of the abbey, Peter is yet a historian of lifelike and entertaining powers. The great moment of his life came when the death of Seniorectus had left a disputed succession in the abbey and when Lothar descended into Italy (1137). It was this monk who rode with the Abbot Rainald to the camp at Lagopesole, and before the Emperor and the Pope maintained with fluent eloquence the right of the Empire to suzerainty over the great abbey. Here naturally the narrative of Peter becomes detailed and vigorous; the Emperor, delighted to hear the claims of Rome and Sicily thus refuted, heaped honours upon the orator. After 1140, we hear no more of Peter; with all his faults he had maintained not unworthily the literary tradition of Monte Cassino bequeathed to him from Leo of Ostia, Alfano, and Paul the Deacon.

The two historians whom we must rely upon most for the history of the reign are Falco of Benevento and Alexander of Teles. Of these the former is an out-and-out opponent of Roger.¹

Falco, the author of a *Chronicon de rebus ætate sua gestis*, was a citizen of Benevento and a member

¹ Falco of Benevento and Alexander are in Del Rê, *Scrittori*, i. Kehr (K) in *Neues Archiv.*, t. xxvii., p. 453 seq., has shown that the *Ignoti Mon. Cist. Stæ. Mariæ de Ferraria Chronica* (ed. Gaudenzi, *Soc. Nap. di Storia patria*, serie i., *Chronache*, Naples, 1888) contain portions of Falco (1099-1103 and 1140-1149) which are missing from the text which we possess.

of one of the leading families of the city. He describes himself as being a notary and scribe of the Sacred Palace, formerly the residence of the Lombard dukes, where a count now exercised his administrative office. In 1133, he was made judge (*judex*) of the city by nomination of the Cardinal Girard ratified by Innocent II.: he says modestly of this event "the Falco I speak of is the same as he who writes this little book." From 1134 to 1137 A.D., he was in exile with others of Innocent's party after the revolt of the party of Anacletus in the former year. After his return the facts of his life become obscure and the date of his death is unknown. His *Chronicon* was probably written or at least finished after the death of Roger, whom he speaks of as if no longer alive; the pre-science of events which he displays shows that he wrote the book as a complete whole after the events he describes. The work as we have it begins in 1102 A.D. and ends in 1139 A.D., but its real value begins in 1112 when he abandons the early and scanty annals which he had followed. Often an eye-witness of what he describes, he frequently cites the testimony of those, friends or opponents, who were present; he utilises also, documents belonging to, and illustrative of, his period.

Falco is eminently readable and master of a genuine, if ambitious, style. His pages leave the impression of a personality very human, interesting, and likable. His patriotism is essentially that of a Beneventan, his interests are centred in the

ancient Lombard capital, the struggle of its factions are told by him with something of the vividness of a fourteenth-century civic feud in Italy. He often stops to tell of local events that have little bearing on the great historic drama that was being played round him,—the deaths of clerics and notables of the town, the religious ceremonies, and other happenings of daily life. In the broad sense, Falco is a Lombard patriot and voices the feelings of the old dispossessed race; his hatred of the Normans is deep and sustained, to him they are the brigands, the scourge of old, the unforgiven foes of the native race. Nothing is more vivid in his pages than when he retails the long list of exactions imposed upon his native city by Roger of Ariano and the Norman tyrants of the vicinity.

Falco lived through a half-century of thrilling years. From the rise of Robert Guiscard to the death of Roger II., and beyond, Benevento was the storm-centre of almost continuous wars, of the Popes and the burgesses resisting the advance of the Normans, and the latter encroaching insatiably upon the once great duchy and its capital. Inside the walls was seen a continual war of parties, one favouring papal suzerainty, the other willing to make terms with the irresistible Normans. His inner knowledge of the city, which alone of all the Lombard and maritime states escaped absorption in the kingdom, gives both value and interest to Falco's work. He tells graphically the entrance of various Popes into the city. He has to record

the remarkable story of Roger and chronicle his unbroken triumph. But neither for his triumphs nor his concessions to Benevento does he alter his tone; however much the Beneventans incline to Roger, for Falco the latter remains to the end *rex ille prenomiatus*, unforgiven and unpraised. The historian saw Roger with his own eyes after the Treaty of Mignano and gives a full description of his day's visit and his demeanour, but he never fell under the spell of royalty. His homage and eloquence are reserved for the gallant, lovable, and humane Rainulf, whom in his stand against the King he sees as the champion of the Lombard people and towns; he enables us to see the pathos of Rainulf's career, wronged by the King at the outset, set up by the Papal and Imperial policy against Roger and then deserted and left to bear the brunt of the royal vengeance.

Falco has not only the interest attaching to so strong a partisan but is often happy in his phrases and descriptions. We see his hero Rainulf expressing sentiments which were only too likely to be in his mouth. The savagery of Roger, the atrocities at Bari and Troia, the pitiless nature of the twelve years' war are painted in strong colours. His description of Rignano and Rainulf's sudden and decisive charge are written with vigour and exultation. On the other hand, his more peaceful pictures such as that of Roger's entry into Naples in 1140 are given at length and pleasantly. Falco never forgave Roger for his triumph and, after the

death of the King made it safe to say so, speaks of "his detested memory."

Alexander of Telese is as thorough a partisan of the King as Falco is an enemy. Alexander was Abbot of San Salvatore near Telese and wrote there his *de rebus gestis Rogerii Siciliae regis*, a work which practically ends at the year 1136. In 1144, a certain Stephen is Abbot of Telese so that Alexander must have died between these dates, probably about 1140, for the latter portion of the book seems to mention the conquests of that year. A dedicatory epistle to Roger accompanies the work, which was written at the request of the Countess Matilda, wife of Rainulf and sister of Roger. The best part of the work lies between the years 1127 and 1136, during which he describes in full the course of events in Southern Italy.

A less local historian than Falco, Alexander is no friend to the Lombards, the insurgent towns, and the feudal confederates. The cause of Rainulf finds no support with him although his patron was the Duke's wife; the latter indeed clove to her brother rather than her husband. To Alexander, Roger is the instrument of God, a hater of lies, showing the justice of his cause by his constancy and cheerfulness under defeat. His childish games show the signs of his future greatness, and as Count of Sicily, he enforces the strict justice which he afterwards extends to Italy. Without that "sprig of the House of Guiscard," the conquests

of the Norman would have fallen into worse confusion than ever. Roger is the King divinely appointed to repress the wickedness which is native to the Italians and the Lombards, the sword in the hand of God for the punishment of all the crimes, the homicides, the sacrilege, the contempt and plundering of churches which scourged the land from Guiscard's death to his own coming. From the first his is an amazing career of triumph, from Count to Duke, from Duke to King, till all the land between Rome and Sicily are welded by him into one great kingdom.

Although the governor of a monastic community, Alexander is a whole-hearted partisan of the King against Rome. In describing Roger's assumption of the crown in 1130, he says not a word of Anacletus's investing him in the kingdom; earlier he speaks of the *insolentia* of Honorius II.

At times Alexander rises to a heroic strain, as in his account of the battle of Scafati or Nocera, to which he devotes four chapters. Twice he saw the King with his own eyes, once after the reconciliation of Roger and Rainulf at Lauro when Roger visited the abbey and was received personally by Alexander, to whom he promised endowments, and again during the siege of Naples. On the latter occasion both Roger and Alfonso visited Telesse; the King promised a gift of land and laid gifts upon the altar which Rainulf afterwards tried to secure. Before returning to Sicily, Roger was reminded of his promises and ordered

Jocelyn to make over the mountain which the monks coveted, and silver enough to make a chalice and thurible. The Abbot showed his gratitude by instituting a bidding prayer for the King and his sons and the gifts doubtless did much to make him so strong a partisan of Roger's.¹

For the two most important historians of the Norman kingdom as a whole, Roger's reign serves only as an introduction. Romuald II., Archbishop of Salerno, author of a *Chronicon sive Annales*, was of the surname of Guarna and belonged to a Lombard family resident in Salerno which apparently had already provided two prelates to the city, Alfano I. and II., while of several brothers of Romuald, one, John, was Judge of Salerno, and another, Robert, was Archdeacon of the same. Romuald's name is given as a clericus in 1143 in a diploma of La Cava. In 1153 he became Archbishop and retained the office till his death in 1181. His historical survey covers the history of the world up to 1178; it is after 1131 that he becomes of original value.

Although a Lombard, Romuald reflects the loyalty of his native city to the Norman dynasty; besides, his high place in the hierarchy and the Curia connected him intimately with the court; he appears as an ecclesiastical statesman negotiating with the Pope at Benevento in 1156, and under the two Williams supporting the national party against foreign influence. His history is not of

¹ Bk. ii., chap. lxx., and bk. iii., chaps. xxviii., xxix., and xxxv.



MAP OF SICILY, FROM EDRISI'S GEOGRAPHY
 (FROM THE BODLEIAN CODEX OF THE *Geographia Nubiensis*)

great value for Roger's reign, but he describes in some detail the struggle of Lothar and Innocent over Rainulf's investiture, and he has some happy phrases, as when he speaks of Bohemund as *semper impossibilia petens*.¹

Great as is the value of Hugo Falcandus, "the Tacitus of Sicily," his works touch only upon Roger's reign as the Golden Age of justice and national unity to which the era of his son and grandson form the saddest contrast. Of foreign extraction, Falcandus in his *Liber de regno Siciliae*, which covers the years 1154 to 1169, and his *Epistola ad Petrum Panormitanæ ecclesiæ thesaurarium*, shows himself the strongest partisan of the native nobles whom Roger II. had excluded from the administration and of the native dynasty against the German claimant, Henry VI. Although the cause of the nobility was not that of the Moslems, yet he pleads for the "Union of Hearts" which obtained in Roger's reign and a revival of the toleration-policy which the end of William II.'s reign saw on the verge of overthrow. Of his virile Latin and vigorous pen nothing need be said; on social life and the intercourse of the races in Sicily he is most illuminating; Palermo, for instance, as it was under Roger, is sketched in living colours. He pays also a vigorous tribute to the greatness of Roger.²

¹ Anno 1111, Del Rè, i.

² Falcandus's whole works are to be found in *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*. . . . Istituto storico Italiano, 1897.

CHAPTER IX

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE KINGDOM

THE crowning glory of Roger II.'s work is the government which he imposed upon the land that he had conquered and welded together, a government majestic, strong, and enduring. Like all great kings who have also been lawgivers, he works from the first steadily towards this end, that, the land once made subject to him and the field cleared, he may set up the strong edifice of a Constitution which shall combine power with justice. First it was necessary to expel or subdue his opponents. At the submission of 1134 and 1139, he confiscated the lands of the more dangerous of them and expelled them from Italy; thus disappeared the stubbornest of his rebels, descendants of the early conquerors. When Rainulf submitted in 1134, the King exacted from his vassals an oath like that of Salisbury in English history; probably this was done in many other cases. In 1135 a great enfeoffment of South Italy swept away most of the old families in favour of Roger's sons and loyal supporters. Finally at

Ariano, 1140, the King, one might say, "decreed a Constitution," and imposed a royal coinage upon South Italy. Nor was this all. Later still, the holders of all grants in Sicily or Calabria were ordered to appear at Palermo or Messina during the autumn of 1144 or the spring of 1145, and to have their deeds renewed and copies deposited in the Curia; though only applying to the King's own patrimony, it was a significant act of sovereignty. The result of it all appears in the titles henceforth used by the great feudatories of the kingdom; the proudest barons of Apulia who had claimed to be "no man's man" in the troublous times after Guiscard, and had long refused to bow the knee to Roger, after 1140 style themselves "Count, by the Grace of the King."¹

The famous "Assises" of Roger promulgated at Ariano do not indeed contain the whole of the Constitution which the King bequeathed to his successors; it was not yet the age of brand-new "Codes." Yet they contain much that is most characteristic of that Constitution, they strike the keynote of the royal policy. Two versions exist of the Assises, one containing forty-four, the other thirty-nine, enactments.² They are based upon,

¹ E.g., "*Dei gratia et regia comes*," Robert of Loritello.

² The *Codice Vaticano* and the *Codice Cassinese*; the latter contains however a few not contained in the former. The texts of both are best given by Brandileone (F.), *Il diritto normanno nelle leggi normanne* . . . 1884, Introduction by Capasso. Chalandon, *La domination normande*, i., pp. xiii., xiv., shows a comparison of the Assises and the Code.

or are a direct imitation of, the Laws of Justinian; apparently the redactor of the Assises had before him the Codex and Digest as well as abridgments of Græco-Byzantine legislation. So close are the Codes of the Emperor and the Norman King that twenty-nine at least of the Assises are little more than renderings, and sometimes word for word translations, of the Books of Justinian.

The preamble strikes the high note of sovereignty. The jurist Celsus had called the interpreters of the law priests, "since Law is the art of the good and the equitable"; on this Roger claims for the royal office also a priestly character. Yet though claiming to legislate for a kingdom, he does not wish to abolish existing laws; the laws and customs of Lombards, Greeks, Arabs, "*pro varietate populorum nostro regno subjectorum*," are to remain unbroken except where they manifestly clash with royal law. Thus a royal law was to be superimposed upon all the peoples of the kingdom wherever king and subjects were concerned; under the shadow of that, however, the various races were to live by the customs of their fathers.

The great characteristic of what follows the preamble is the high and sacred power ascribed to the Crown. The absolutism of a Roman Emperor of the sixth century is transferred bodily to the grandson of the poor knight of Hauteville. It is sacrilege to dispute the King's judgments or his institutions, or to question whether he whom

the King has chosen is worthy or no.¹ Treason (*crimen majestatis*) is given the most sweeping implication. It is treason, punishable with death and confiscation, for nobles to plot with other knights the murder of the illustrious men who sit in the King's Council, for all who desert in battle or surrender castles, who arm mobs, who refuse to aid the King's troops or allies, etc. Capital punishment is decreed against forgers and receivers of spurious money and those who falsify the King's letters or seal; severe punishment is meted out to those guilty of crimes against women, and of adultery, punishments necessary in a land so long ungoverned.

A number of the Assises deal with the Church. Heretics and apostates are deprived of civil rights; villeins are forbidden to become priests, those who are infamous in character are to be deprived of their orders, and no one may buy a church dignity for money. Children are not to be recognised as legitimate and able to succeed unless their parents have been married in church with the priestly blessing and a ring. Church privileges are taken under royal protection. Bishops need not appear in public courts except where the King has commanded, priests are exempted from the bodily ordeal in law-cases and from all servile services, though deacons and lower orders are not granted the latter exemption. All this is in accordance with the aims of the Hildebrandines

¹ Assise XVII.

and shows a desire to please the Roman Curia; on the other hand, prelates are forbidden to exact feudal aids except for their consecration, upon summons to a Roman Synod, and when they serve in the royal army.

The feudal clauses, though few, are of importance. The King, himself a Norman and of the feudal caste, forbids that any one should retain or take upon him knighthood unless he be of knightly family. By the assise *de rebus regalibus* those who hold royal regalia are forbidden to alienate, sell, or grant them. A solemn *monitio generalis* warns all princes, counts, prelates, and others who have authority over citizens, townsmen, and villagers to treat them with humanity, in particular to demand from them only such aids and dues as are reasonable and just. In the event of the King's arrival in any district, the barons may exact from their tenants part of the *corredum* or "sustenance" which then becomes due to the royal train, but the aid which they demand must be according to the resources of their subjects.

The Assises are thus, as it were, a rough sketch of the royal intention; they show Roger determined to keep a firm hold on his feudal vassals, favouring and ordering the Church, recommending justice to the non-feudal classes, suppressing crime, emphasising the need of power and justice. The last Assise of all is significant of a King who aspired to be the "Mirror of Justice": it decrees that if a judge sentences to death for a bribe he

shall be in peril of death, if he gives a fraudulent decision he shall lose all his property, if he errs ignorantly and in good faith he shall be at the mercy of the King.

It was at Ariano that Roger promulgated the body of his laws. The Assises speak as if previous laws had already been issued,¹ and we know of decrees, pronounced at Melfi in 1129, and at various other periods of the reign. A *Novella* or royal decree, issued in the valley of the Crati in 1150, applying only to Calabria, may imply the promulgation of other decrees of this sort; the Constitutions of Frederick II. may contain more enactments of Roger than we can disentangle from them. Here we have then all the actual legislation which we can attribute to the first King of Sicily.

Meanwhile strong hands and subtle minds were building in silence a great and majestic fabric of government. Roger himself was greatest among those who thus moulded a kingdom, but he saw from the moment that he ascended the throne the necessity of casting his net wide among men of all nations and creeds in order to surround the throne with indestructible institutions. Falcandus says of him that he inquired diligently into the customs of other kings and nations to see what was worth imitation in them; whatever men he heard of as famous in council or battle he spared no rewards

¹ "Volumus et iubemus . . . ut sanctiones quas in presenti corpore sive promulgatas a nobis sive compositas a nobis . . . fideliter recipiatis." Brandileone, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

ووجد في الجريدة القديمة التي نسخت منها هذه الجريدة
اسما المتزوجين من اولاد الرجال المشبوتين في هذه
الجريدة وهم

οἱ παῖδες χάσκη βουλφουτὸν καὶ ἀχματ

اولاد الحاج بو الفتوح واحمد

πατήρ βατζίλα γάζη

رئيس راجلة غازی

Ἰχίε ἀδελφὸς ἔπιν πάββα

يحيى اخو بن برا

μαιμουὺν ἔπιν ἀλή

ميمون بن علي

βουλχουσέιν ἔπιν πάββα

ابو الجسين بن برا

الجملة خمسة اسما

ἑμῶν ἄνδρες ε'.

وقد كتبت الاسما التي في هذه الجريدة على شريطة انك
مستحق بهم وان المتزوجين من الاولاد هم اولاد المشبوتين
في هذه الجريدة من الرجال ومتى ظهر احد منهم في
جرايد الديوان المعمور او في جرايد التراية اتلفته

كتبت في رق راتع

+ Ῥογέριος ἐν χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ εὐσεβὲς κραταῖος ῥήξ καὶ τῶν χριστιανῶν βοηθός.

BILINGUAL CONFIRMATION OF A SICILIAN LAND-GRANT BY ROGER II (PRINTED TEXT TO ILLUSTRATE USE OF ARABIC AND GREEK)

PHOTO BY UNIVERSITY PRESS OF OXFORD

(FROM CUSA, *I diplomi greci et arabi*)

to attract to his court.¹ Thus he drew into his service a galaxy of the ablest men in Europe: the kingdom rose out of the labours of George of Antioch, of Robert of Selby, of Thomas Brown, and their named or nameless colleagues. Again, the institutions, the governmental skill of Constantinople, Cairo, Rouen were his to select from, in a realm full of Greeks, Moslems, and Latins.

The problem which faced every country in Europe, especially where feudalism had taken deep root, was that of connecting the local with the central government. Charles the Great's *missi dominici* had not solved the question for long; and the fragments into which his Empire had fallen, the kingdoms of France and Germany, had not yet evolved a royal power strong enough to thrust aside the powerful vassals of the Crown and bring the provincial government and the common subject into touch with the Crown and its justice. Henry the First of England, indeed, showed the way with his itinerant justices, but tentatively and temporarily. Among the kingdoms of the West, Sicily was to be the first in the organising of a governmental and administrative system which, commencing with a strong nucleus of power, allowed no feudal or provincial power to interpose between the Crown and the common subjects of the Crown.

We shall see what the local government was at the accession of Roger and then after a sketch of

¹ Del R , pp. 286-7.

the central authority itself show how provincial and royal administration were brought into touch with one another.

While Sicily and Calabria under the first two counts had been subjected to a systematised government, Apulia and Salerno, only half-organised by Guiscard, had fallen since his death into chaos or rather into a hundred units of government. The more powerful nobles such as Robert of Loritello in the Abruzzi claimed sovereign independence; other Norman lords vaguely accepted Greek suzerainty; one and all the barons exercised practical supreme jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over the communes and petty rural towns in their lordships. Communal, no less than feudal, independence was wide-spread. Of the Apulian towns alone, Bari was for twenty years a "Signory," having a constitutional prince who governed by the *nobiles* of the city; Molfetta and Trani were vigorous communes; Troia, with a constitution granted by Honorius II., had a government of *nobiliores* under the constitutional presidency of the Bishop. Thus the greater towns of Apulia in 1130 had practically excluded both ducal and seignorial jurisdiction, and inside their walls the citizens knew no courts or officials higher than their own.

The smaller rural towns of the mainland with the districts around them were naturally more subject to the officials of the ducal government. The latter still bear the names which were a

heritage from the Greek and Lombard days; they are called catapans, gastalds, *strategi*; while viscounts and baillis (*bajuli*) represent the Norman superstructure. To simplify the question, one may say that the normal local agent of the ducal power is the bailli, whose office is the same whether he be called so or catapan or gastald. The bailli supervises the demesne lands, collects the aids and other dues owing to the duke, watches over the forest, and exercises criminal jurisdiction. It does not concern us here to show to whom he was answerable in the days of the duchy, since we shall sketch the superstructure built on this foundation by the royal government.

The central administration at Palermo was called, as it was called in every Latin kingdom, the *Curia Regis*. In the fully-organised government which Roger II. left to his successor, we find it to consist of high officials, officers of the Household, prelates, and occasional vassals of the Crown. It was to the *Curia Regis* that appeals went from all courts of the realm, it was to this supreme tribunal that the highest criminal justice was reserved, and here disputes between King and subject, vassal and vassal, and other cases involving land and privileges were settled. The actual nucleus of government itself was naturally smaller. There developed a Privy Council of the King, which under Roger's successors bore the Greek name ἡ κραταιὰ κόρη, composed of the highest officials of the Crown who are also as members

of the Curia called *familiares*, and bear the titles of archons. In this council the great names are those of the emir of emirs (*ammiratus ammiratorum*), the chancellor, the seneschal, the logothete. In the Curia itself there were also the constable and marshal, the *capellani* and *camerarii*, and prelates such as the Archbishop of Palermo. The real cabinet, if one can call it so, was formed of those high ministers whom Peter of Eboli calls *domini curiæ*, who wore a distinctive head-dress, and travelled at the expense of the state. Of these the greatest was the emir of emirs, a title which, until 1160, far transcended the Norman office of chancellor; invested with this title, George of Antioch wielded the power of a vizir, presided over the Curia in the King's absence, and decided important causes in the provinces. Yet the King himself allowed no man to displace him in the council chamber or the seat of government.

The financial side of the Curia, the Treasury or Exchequer, showed the most complete organisation of any department of government; here Norman Sicily showed to the kingdoms of the West a system incomparably superior to their rude feudal exchequers. As in the case of the government as a whole, we must give a survey extending over the reigns of the two Williams as well as that of Roger II.

The finances of the Apulian dukes had been centred in the *Camera* or Treasury and its officials, the *camerarii*. Under Roger II. the whole system

was confided to bodies later called by the Arabic names *dohanæ* (divans). Of these the *dohana de secretis*—called in Greek *σεκρετὸν*, in Arab documents *djwan al tahkikal mamw̄r*—supervised the royal domains, the revenues derived from customs and monopolies, and many other sources, sold land for the purposes of the Exchequer, kept lists of land grants; and watched over the officials of the Treasury. The second, the *dohana baronum* (*σεκρετὸν ὁ τῶν ἀποκοπῶν*), dealt with the feudal vassals of the Crown, and collected the revenues which came to the King as feudal suzerain. The whole system was fully organised under Roger's successor under a Grand Camerarius of the Palace, while a *magister dohanæ de secretis* and a *magister dohanæ baronum* controlled respectively the separate departments. Again under these were *σεκρετιχοὶ* (*sahibs*) and under them notaries (*katibs*). The royal palace was the centre of a great bureaucratic organisation; the honourable title of *kaid*, borne by officials of Latin and Greek as well as Moslem origin, denoted a high rank in the Home Service, and numerous notaries, divided in the caricatures of Peter of Eboli at the end of the century into Arabs, Greeks, and Latins, deal with the polyglot documents which the mixture of races made essential.

To turn to the Curia itself: the highest official of the Crown, as we saw, was the emir of emirs, a supreme judge, in many matters a viceroy, in naval affairs entrusted with complete control.

The chancellor was the supreme administrative official and in reality viceroy on the mainland, where Roger's sons were too young and inexperienced to conduct the government satisfactorily. The exigencies of the time, however, gave the chancellor more of a military character than was usual in Western kingdoms; Guarin and Robert of Selby lead armies, command military areas, and have in their hands the negotiations of war, peace, and alliance with Pope or Basileus. A vice-chancellor acted as the chancellor's deputy in the Curia; the constable represented the military organisation of the kingdom and supervised the feudal levies. The grand camerarius may be taken as the head of the civil government in the Norman period with his subordinate *magistri camerarii*; there was also high in office a *magister cappellanus* with *cappellani* under him; the chancellor Guarin held this title before taking the higher place.

These were the first ministers of a fully-organised central government from which was extended into every corner of the kingdom a system of provincial government which brought the humblest subject into touch with the Curia, and made answerable to the chancellor or the grand camerarius the local officials and the most subordinate agents of the Crown.

To take the civil and financial administration first. The kingdom is seen under William I. divided into two provinces, each under a *magister*



GREEK, ARAB, AND LATIN NOTARIES OF THE CURIA

(FROM THE CARICATURES IN THE BERNE MANUSCRIPT OF PETER OF EBOLI, WITH ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO ISTITUTO STORICO ITALIANO FONTI, PER LA *Storia d'Italia*, ED. SIRAGUSA)

camerarius; under these were the *camerarii*, who supervised the demesnes and revenues of the King, and regulated the feudal exactions and services. The subordinate *camerarii* exercised their office from 1135 on. It was through these that the orders of the *magistri dohanæ* were transmitted to the bailli or the "forester" who was responsible for the royal forests.

Dependent again upon the master *camerarius* of the province were local catapans, a Greek title but not necessarily confined to the Greek-speaking areas. The catapan looked after the royal demesnes, confirmed grants in the King's name, received dues and aids from the estates in vassalage, administered the royal forests, and exercised a civil jurisdiction. In the Greek-speaking districts and in Sicily a corresponding official was the *strategus*, who was responsible also to the *magistri dohanæ*. In the Arabic-speaking areas, the *âmil* corresponds to the *strategus* and the catapan.

The bailli suggests the Norman origin of the kingdom; a local administrative official corresponding to, though sometimes subordinate to, the *strategus* or catapan. He again administered the royal demesnes, received revenues due from land, administered vacant churches, and supervised land grants. But this official had a criminal, as well as a civil, jurisdiction; he arrested thieves, and secured fugitive serfs. As a criminal justice he was answerable to the justiciar, and thus we are brought to the institution the origin of which

must be sought in the duchy from which had sprung the first conquerors of Southern Italy. In 1135 the King, after installing Alfonso as Prince of Capua, appointed the Bishop-elect of Capua and Aimo of Arienzo to do justice to those who had been wronged.¹ This is generally supposed to be the origin of the justiciars of the Norman kingdom. From this time the *Justiciarii* are sent out to the various parts of the kingdom, apparently without fixed areas, and charged with the criminal jurisdiction, the deciding on appeals made direct to the King, and a certain authority over civil cases and questions of the domain. They judge cases reserved by the *baillis* of serious crime, and receive appeals from the *camerarii*. They are appointed for life or a long period, and their duties are defined by one of the Assises, which allots to them theft, homicides, arsons, wrongs done to women, and so on.² Early in the next reign, but apparently not in Roger's, we find *magistri justiciarii*, who govern the two provinces into which the kingdom is divided, deciding on the higher criminal justice which was reserved to the Crown, and having authority over the simple justiciars. This latter office had a high prestige; in 1177 Tancred, Count of Lecce, afterwards King, was Constable and Master Justiciar of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, and the court in which he settles a dispute between the

¹ Al. Tel., iii., 31, 35.

² Assise XXXVI., Brandileone, p 136.

abbey of La Cava and some of its tenants is attended by barons, counts, bishops, and abbots.

It was by the justiciar that the baillis and local judges were controlled. The latter represent a jurisdiction half popular, half governmental. The greater towns either appoint or control the appointment of the *judices*, and even where the judge is a royal official (*judex regalis*) and nominee of the Crown he is assisted by a jury of *boni homines*, influential people of the vicinity, who are often found to be Moslems. The duties of the judge, whether he holds a lord's *curia* or a royal court, or presides in the tribunals of a self-governing town, are to decide cases of property, to witness sales and gifts, to dispose of small civil cases. Among the Moslems a *cadi* takes the place of the Christian *judex*.

The same Assise which forbids subjects to take the rank of knighthood unless their ancestry is knightly, forbids any man to become a judge unless his parent has held that office; an injunction which implies that Roger II. wished to create an official no less than a knightly caste, but it is in sympathy with the policy pursued by the catapans of pre-Norman days in favouring the official classes of Apulia.

The power of the Sicilian Crown will be best shown by outlining the relations towards the King of the Church, the nobles, and the towns, that is the greater forces in the State, and under them the common subjects.

We have already seen much of Roger II.'s dealings with the Latin Church of his own realm, since his life-history is one long struggle with the Papacy over questions in which he would not yield. The grant of the Apostolic Legateship was a true "apple of strife." Armed with this both Roger I. (he indeed long before it) and his son vigorously subjected and organised the Catholic Church of their dominions. The former mapped Sicily out into dioceses, the latter continued the policy, creating, with the connivance of Anacletus, Lipari-Patti and Cefalù, and getting by the same means Palermo and Messina elevated into Metropolitan Sees.¹ Roger II. either personally nominated or was accused by Innocent II. of nominating his own bishops; it is most probable that he did so; he insisted tenaciously on his Legatine powers, such as that of summoning to church synods. In a lower plane he enforced the trial of criminal clerics before the lay courts. On the other hand, like his father and like William the Norman, he was far from averse to putting into practice in his realm the principles of Hildebrand. His Assises show this readiness; thus one enactment decrees that on the death of a prelate, the administration of the vacant see is to go to three of the best and wisest in the cathedral itself until

¹ On this question see Caspar, *Roger II. und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie*, p. 583. Roger I. was apparently responsible for four new sees, and revived the ancient Latin bishoprics of the island.

the vacancy is filled up; this was to protect the Church against the baillis who had formerly administered or plundered the see.

Towards the end of his reign Roger indeed yielded the point of canonical election to the Papacy at Ceprano. Yet to the end he remained practical master of the Latin Church in his realm, invested by virtue of the hereditary Legateship with an almost sacred character, and holding it in little less esteem than the royal title itself.

The Greek Church in Calabria and Sicily had yielded without resistance to the Norman princes, recognising in Roger I. and his son that supremacy which they had formerly acknowledged in the Basileus himself. It was indeed to the interest of the Orthodox congregations to lean upon the Count for in the influx of Latin colonists and the conversion of sees from the Greek to the Catholic rite, there was a danger of their being completely overborne. Roger II. was well aware of the value of the Greek Church in his struggles with the Papacy, it was no little thing to have behind him an Orthodox population so numerous and loyal, an Orthodox church so submissively Erastian. That he might transfer the allegiance of all his churches from Rome to Constantinople was at one point strongly hinted to the King by the writer Doxopatrius, and possibly for a time entertained.

In the general organising of his realm, Roger gave a constitution to the Greek monasteries.

Roger I. had founded in Messina the Orthodox monastery of San Salvatore. His son, in May, 1131, raised this abbey to the rank of an *archimandriate* or mother-abbey of all his Greek monasteries. Roger might well have come into conflict with his Latin bishops in this policy, but Hugh, Archbishop of Messina, was no Becket. He consented readily that San Salvatore should choose its own abbot, that the latter, as archimandrite, should have episcopal authority over all the abbots who were subjected to him, paying with them only due reverence to Messina. Yet the archimandrite was to receive the benediction and the oil of consecration from the Archbishop. In 1134 Lucas of Rossano was made Archimandrite, and Roger again re-organised the Greek abbeys. Eighteen churches in Sicily and six in Calabria were subjected even more closely to San Salvatore, whose Archimandrite was to appoint their priors; thirteen Sicilian and five Calabrian houses were to elect their own superiors freely. Thus, by a sort of concordat, Roger assured both the submission and the loyalty of the numerous Orthodox monasteries of the kingdom.

Of the toleration which Jews and Arabs shared with the Greeks, and which ensured their devotion to the Crown, we have already spoken.

A more remarkable achievement than the subjection of the Church was the subjection of the nobles to the Crown. Three desperate revolts had to be trampled down before Roger could

bridle that Apulian baronage which defied him from a thousand mountain fortresses from the Bradano to the Tronto. It was at last by sweeping confiscations and the removal of his most dangerous enemies that Roger finally brought the vassals of the mainland to his feet. From 1140 at least to the King's death the baronage in Sicily and Italy remains so quiescent as to suggest that the monarchy had its enthusiastic support. The outbreaks of feudal malcontents which scarcely allowed William I. to be crowned in peace rather imply that it was only by a wonderful combination of force, diplomacy, and high bearing that Roger, backed by the good wishes of the Church, the towns, the common people, the Greeks, and the Moslems, was able to control the dangerous Norman element.

The feudatories of the kingdom are the *καβαλλάρχοι* of the charters, they who hold knightly or noble land. Their numbers can be only partly inferred from the *Catalogus Baronum*, drawn up between 1154 and 1166 for the purpose of "augmentation" of military service; it covers most of the mainland except Calabria, and in this limited territory it shows some 3453 holders of knightly fiefs ranging from the tenant by service to him who owes only the service of one hauberk.

The royal policy was to secure as nearly a new enfeoffment of the land as possible, that all claims might now appear to spring from the kingdom rather than the conquest of a hundred years before.

Apart from the actual enfeoffment of 1135 and other occasions, a renewing of grants was enforced for part of the kingdom in 1144, and henceforth titles ran "by grace of the King." Of grants made or renewed, the Curia at Palermo retained a copy which was filed in the archives; the grantee received a diploma which expressed clearly the doctrine that all lands and honours were the gift of the King. Registers, preserved at Palermo, kept full account of all the fiefs of the kingdom and of vassal services, with the extents of land thus granted or confirmed, and all the villeins that dwelt on them: these were called by a name of Arabic origin, *defetarii* (registers). The power of the nobles was struck at from above by the Assise that lands and regalian rights held of the Crown should be neither sold nor alienated "save to the King's sons who are Princes." The right to coin money was taken from them. Private war and the unauthorised erecting of castles was prohibited; and the Crown forbade heiresses of vassals to marry without the royal approval.

Roger also struck at baronial privilege from below, by a policy which diminished or abolished the exactions or claims made by Norman lords upon the communal towns, which protected the vassal against his suzerain and favoured the agricultural classes generally at the expense of the great vassals of the Crown. The power of the great feudatories of the Norman conquest, strengthened by the decline of the ducal au-

thority, equalled that of the barons of France; their claims would have added to a power so overgrown had not the walled towns everywhere strenuously resisted. In addition to supreme criminal justice over their tenants, they claimed a homage from them which overrode that owed to the duke; the services and dues demanded were apparently arbitrary; they insisted on their "men" doing garrison duty or "castle-guard," and generally pressed to the full the claims of North French feudalism. Against the towns and communes they asserted claims as vigorous; they strove to introduce the hated "ordeal of battle" of the feudal classes; the arbitrary and ruinous nature of their demands is seen in the exactions pressed upon a city so great as Benevento. On November 14, 1137, Roger, now freed from the German menace, rewarded the submission of Benevento by a charter in which he released the city and its contado from the exactions levied on them both by his own predecessors and the Normans of the vicinity; the list of these dues, generally paid to Roger, Count of Ariano, is a most impressive one.¹

We have seen how Roger on Rainulf's submission in 1134 exacted an oath of liege homage from his under-vassals; it is probable that the power of other great feudatories, after submission, was sapped by a similar proceeding. The Assises

¹ Falco Ben., anno 1136; they comprise "fidantias, angarias, terraticum, olivas, vinum, salutes, dationem de vineis, terris aspris sylvis castanoëtis et ecclesiis," etc.

contain injunctions to prelates and barons to exact only reasonable aids and service from their tenants, and aim at regulating the position of the latter towards their lords. The jurisdiction of the great vassals over their men in criminal matters was greatly diminished, even the civil jurisdiction was made to depend on the favour of the Crown.

The suppression of dangerous feudal immunities was carried only so far as to clear the way for the bringing all subjects under the royal power. Roger himself was of the feudal caste, proud of his French origin, and dependent on his great vassals for half his army. His Assise on knighthood shows a desire to form from the feudal landowners a close military caste. In favouring a *Jus Francorum* for the knightly classes, he aimed at establishing a primogeniture which would keep the military vassals a small but wealthy aristocracy able to do their duty to the Crown, whereas the long-established *Jus Langobardorum* by favouring subdivision had the effect of splitting up great estates and depressing landowners into the mass of the people.

The royal policy therefore was to regularise and fix the rights of the Crown over the great vassals and to do the same with the relations of the under-tenants with their overlords. The rights of the great feudatories were preserved in being diminished. On the other hand the nobility were largely employed in the royal service, as justiciars and household officers, and even entered the inner cir-

cle of the Curia. From its military vassals the Crown exacted homage and fidelity, military service, attendance at court, castle-guard, *fodrum* or sustenance, aids and reliefs. Military service was stringently exacted; the normal number of days exacted was forty, but some vassals owed two months' service in the royal host in the year. As well as guarding the royal castles and watching the coasts, the holders of fiefs had frequently to aid in furnishing and equipping the galleys which made up the powerful navy of the kingdom. As in the monarchy of Henry I. and his grandson in England, castles might not be erected without the royal consent.

From their own tenants the great lords claimed similar duties. They practised the three rights of wardship, escheat, and confiscation for treason, exacted military and other service, and held baronial courts. Great powers were still left to them, but the Crown both protected the under-vassal against the lord and made him answerable to the public law; thus if the seigneur broke certain conditions the vassal should then *ipso facto* hold directly of the King; on the other hand the overlord could not protect his vassal in a crime touching the royal majesty. The powers exercised by the justiciars, the encouragement of appeals from towns and under-vassals, the reservation of cases of treason all went to diminish the criminal jurisdiction of the barons.

We shall return again to the great barons of the

kingdom in describing the position of the communes of South Italy.

The liberties of the cities, towns, and rural communes and their relations to the royal power naturally form a varied picture. On the whole it is evident that the exigencies of conquest, the pressure of events, the number and strength of the towns obliged Roger to leave to them considerable liberty. Yet in essence they shared a similar fate with Church and nobility, in being subjected to the Crown to such an extent as to leave the higher justice and the power of the sword in the hand of the King.

The position of some of the great cities at the end of the reign illustrates the royal policy. Those of the mainland had generally made honourable terms with the conqueror. Amalfi was bound to furnish ships and men for the navy; this service was imposed in a less degree upon Gaëta and Naples.¹ The latter city at the advent of the Normans had been an aristocratic republic, under an hereditary duke, who governed by the advice of a military caste of *milites* and the consent of the middle class or *mediani*.² On the submission of Naples in 1140 the King enfeoffed the *milites* with lands about the city; they were freed from half of the military duty formerly owed to the duke and from the whole of their maritime service. Naples was henceforth governed by a

¹ See ante, Chap. VI.

² Schipa, *Il ducato di Napoli*, Naples, 1895, c. xi., p. 278 seq.

Count of the Palace named by the King, acting with elected consuls. Salerno retained a communal organisation under local *capiturini*. Gaëta was left to be governed by consuls having at their head a bailli named by the King from among the Gaëtans. These cities preserved their own courts and popular *judices*. But the highest criminal justice was reserved to the Crown; thus, though the royal justiciar could not intervene in Naples or Gaëta the most serious cases were ordered to be judged at Capua or Palermo. The right of striking a local coinage which many of the cities practised up to the reign of Roger was now generally restricted; on the western coast Naples and Gaëta were allowed to coin their own money but it was to be of silver so as not to compete with the royal ducats.

The communal movement had long been vigorous among the Adriatic and Apulian towns. The catapans had even favoured it, the decay of ducal power had given it many opportunities, and Honorius II. in his attempt to oppose Roger's succession in Apulia (1127-1128) had granted charters of self-government to Troia and Trani which stimulated the zeal of the adjacent towns for freedom.¹

¹ See *Documenti e monografie per la storia della terra di Bari*, vol. v., *Le consuetudini della città di Bari* (Massa), for Bari; and vol. vii., *L'Apulia ed il commune nell'alto medio evo* (Carabellese), publ. at Bari 1903 and 1905, the latter excellent for the movement towards self-government in Troia, Monopoli, Molfetta, etc. In the case of Bari the *consuetudines* represent local rights and

On the surrender of Bari, June, 1132, Alexander and Tancred of Conversano swore in the King's name these terms: no foreign archbishop nor abbot should be appointed to the city or to St. Nicholas without the consent of the majority of the citizens; the King should not quarter troops by force on the city, no new castle was to be built within the walls; the King was to respect the customs of Bari and not to impose on the citizens the ordeal by battle or water; he exempted them also from the *angariæ* (servile duties) and the aid, freed them from military service by land and sea, and undertook not to appoint a foreign judge to the city. In spite of renewed revolts, Roger seems not to have withdrawn the body of these concessions; the "customs," long afterwards codified, of Bari continued to boast that no Baresan could be tried save within the city walls, that neither count nor justiciar bore jurisdiction in the city; and that any native burgess could assume knighthood without inquiry as to his parentage. The service of "army and galleys" however was later imposed; "*a servitio galearum nullus Barensis excipitur*," while knights, judges, and notaries were to serve only at the royal expense.

Terms of a similar nature were granted by Roger to other towns of Apulia, if seldom so favourable. In 1129 Roger had granted honourable terms to Brindisi, Otranto, Lecce, Priia, and Troia, to which

customs prevalent in the twelfth and written down at the end of the fourteenth century. See also *Cod. dipl. Bar.*, t. v., p. 137.

he remained faithful through subsequent rebellions. The aspect of communal liberties is largely the same in all these instances; thus Trani, like Bari, chooses its own judges who are to be approved by the King and who become *judices regales*; the foreign custom of ordeal of battle is not to be imposed on the towns. Some towns obtain special trading concessions; thus Gaëta is allowed to import corn freely from Sicily. The greater of the ancient cities, Bari, Naples, Trani, Gaëta, are to belong only to the King or his sons; thus they secure themselves against the great feudatories.

In Sicily the towns were either of an origin contemporaneous with the Norman conquest or were revived and colonised by the Norman counts; none of them had the long-rooted traditions of liberty of the Campanian towns, nor had to be tempted into surrender by charters of freedom. On the one hand we find the first counts and the early kings favouring the older cities where their palaces were built. On the other, they founded towns and communes, granting them considerable liberties in order to attract Latin colonists, or as expressions of gratitude to God. Thus Palermo, Trapani, Messina, Syracuse were given marks of royal favour in virtue of their importance.¹

¹ For the liberties of Sicilian towns see *Antiche consuetudini delle città de Sicilia*, Palermo, 1900, and the separate volumes on Palermo, etc. Of the antiquity of these privileges of Palermo, etc., however, one must speak with caution.

Roger's grandson, Frederick II., on succeeding, found the greater towns of Sicily in possession of liberties, doubtless increased in the age of anarchy which filled the gap between the death of his father Henry VI. (1197) and his own accession, but substantially reaching back to grants of the first two Rogers. These he generally confirmed; thus to Palermo he granted that commodities might be freely exported and imported without payment of dues (*gabellæ*) except certain articles which were exempted by special command; the citizens were given the right to cut timber freely in the forests of the Parco and free pasturage in the environs, and none of them might be indicted by petition of the officials of the Curia for any public or private, civil or criminal matter (1200 and 1233). He found Messina in possession of the privilege that no citizen might be brought to judgment at first instance save before the city courts themselves, and that for cases not involving *læsa majestas* such as treason, forgery, homicide, the ordeal by battle was not admitted. Frederick III. again in the first half of the 14th century confirmed abundant liberties of a similar nature in Syracuse, Trapani, Noto, Girgenti, which were taken to be of ancient origin.

Cefalù is an instance of a deliberate royal foundation. Roger II., landing here in 1130 from Italy after a violent storm, founded as a token of gratitude the cathedral of Cefalù, which he afterwards made the seat of a bishopric. He also granted to

the people of this place a charter of liberty practically creating a free commune, the people of which were freed from military service by land and sea, given the right of free market, free cutting of timber, the right of chase, and of grinding their corn freely. In 1145 the town with its vested privileges was granted to the bishop, who thus became a kind of constitutional ruler.

So far we have been treating of the greater centres of urban life—the *civitates*—and it is of vital importance to contrast these with the smaller centres—the *castra* or *oppida*. These were, and are, the great feature of rural life in South Italy, a land where little of the village and still less of the farm-life of the north was known, where the corn-fields, the olive-gardens and vineyards were tended by peasants who went out to their labour in the morning but dwelt in towns of some thousands of inhabitants. The small *castrum* or *oppidum* thus concentrating the rural class was able to offer a bold front to king, bishop, and lord, and indeed these petty communities, so widely spread and numerous, guaranteed to the mass of the cultivators and small tenants a freedom and a control over the produce of their toil superior to that enjoyed by the peasant in most mediæval countries.

The wealthier cultivators or tenants immediately under the lord or holder of noble land fall into two classes, those who own land "without service" and those who hold land "with service." The former were still numerous after the conquest;

Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens are found in this class of peasant-proprietors, and many Norman men-at-arms were added to them, but the free lands steadily tended to disappear. The holders "with service" show a similar character and are liable to the same burdens in Italy and in Sicily. They gave personal service, they paid contributions or aids in money or kind (*redditus et salutes*), and were subject to the corvée or compulsory labour on the lord's estate. The dues in kind are very much like those paid in other lands, that is a certain proportion of the produce of their corn and wine, grazing dues, a payment on every head of cattle, and so on. These are the *homines* of charters and assises.

In Sicily the first Count with his bishops and vassals had encouraged the founding of these agricultural communes, in order that the Greek and Moslem cultivators should find a counterpoise in a Lombard-Italian population, and the island be brought into fuller cultivation. Favourable terms were granted to such colonists, and henceforward the so-called "Lombard" communes of Butera, Randazzo, and other places become of decisive importance in Sicily.

The Sicilian communes had imposed upon them the duty of maintaining and manning the royal navy to a far greater extent than those of Italy where exemptions were so numerous; for instance Caltagirone had to provide 250 galleys yearly to the service of the Count.

The history of the *oppida* in this period is one of growing freedom, a shaking-off of many of the burdens imposed upon them by the Norman conquerors, or laid upon them, in defiance of the original contract, by the bishops, abbots, or barons of the locality. Thus in the early years of Roger II., Ambrose, abbot of the monastery of Lipari, had attracted many Italian colonists to the island by the grant of a *consuetudo*. In 1133 the peasants complain to the King that their lord, now made into a bishop, is increasing the original obligations, and they are granted a fresh charter from the Crown.

We have seen how the Assises protect the *homines* against the great lords and regulate the burdens which might be imposed both on the under-tenant and on the "men" of the estate. But in addition to the Crown, the lords themselves are found yielding to the demands of the tenants, and issuing new or revised charters highly advantageous to the *homines*. A striking instance is found in the privileges granted by Roffred, abbot of Monte Cassino, to the men of Pontecorvo, and Sant' Angelo in Theodice, fiefs of the great monastery.¹ The terms show in a very clear light the distinction of lands according as they are with and without service, the number and nature of the exactions which had been foisted on them, the survival of Lombard customs such as that of the *mundoald*, the universal demand for native and

¹ Tosti, *Storia di . . . Monte Cassino*, ii., pp. 198-203.

locally appointed judges, and the hatred felt for Norman practices such as ordeal by battle. It is to be noted also that the second charter is granted according to the wish of King William the Second, who may be called like his grandfather "the friend of the communes."

The abbot grants to Pontecorvo these *capitula*,

Tenements which are *sine servitio* may be freely bought and sold. Tenements which are *de servitio* may be sold and given saving the service and in our domain. None of our knights may strike a man of the people because he has struck his man. If any man have wronged a woman or the wife of his man he shall lose the lordship over that man. In cases of intestacy the next of kin shall succeed. No one may be imprisoned without judgment. Women may seek *mundium* from whomsoever they please. No one shall be compelled to give a general aid. An aid may be demanded on only three occasions, namely when the lord is made a knight and when his daughters, sisters, and granddaughter are married. Above all the abbot concedes all privileges of fishing, hunting, and all good customs and liberties which their ancestors had in former times, and that they shall always have a judge, notary, and viscount chosen from their own town [February 22, 1190].

To the *castrum* of Sant' Angelo the abbot grants that the trees of the *homines* shall not be cut down by force by his officers. No one accused of crime shall be put to the ordeal by battle, iron, or water. No woman shall be answerable save by her kin or



1. COINS OF ROGER I, COUNT OF SICILY
 2. DUCATS OF ROGER II
 3. DUCATS OF WILLIAM I

mundoalds (*mundiales*). *Terraticum* (a tax of one tenth on crops) shall not be paid except on these grains, corn, barley, and millet. *Fodrum* (sustenance) and aid shall only be given by the consent of the tenants and for service with the Crown. The burden of castle-guard at the Rocca di Bantra is to be lightened. A judge shall not be chosen at Sant' Angelo except for the *castrum* itself and he shall judge according to Lombard law by the counsel of the *boni homines* of the place. He shall also take a solemn oath on the Holy Gospel that he will judge according to the same law and the customs of the place, and never turn aside from justice either for love or hate, or money or reward. This is done in accordance with the demand of King William of glorious memory who wished that it might be.

Below the tenants of this kind came the serfs and villeins of the agricultural system, living not in the populous *oppida* but in villages and on manors (*in villis et casalibus*). In the villein class of the Norman kingdom might be read the history of Southern Italy through seven hundred years, of race after race thrust down into a common servitude. Their designation in the various districts is now Lombard, now Latin, now Greek, now Arabic, *aldii cortisani*, *angararii*, *adscriptitii*, *metochii*, *πάροικοι*, *rigial el garâid*. Upon the cultivators called by these names were imposed military service along with defence and the upkeep of the lord's castle, various dues in money and

kind, and numerous *angariæ* or labour tasks upon the domain. Among them was the distinction common in all feudal countries between the man of villein birth and the free tenant in villeinage, into those who might be sold with the manor and those who were personally free.

The lot of the villein class was hard. Royal Assises, like the Constitutions of our Henry II., forbade the serf to assume priestly orders. If a free woman married a villein the offspring counted as of servile status. The lord is given power to arrest and recover fugitive serfs. Yet even they were favoured by the necessities of the time, the need of colonists, the policy of the supreme power. Thus Count Roger I. founded a village of five hundred families at Embola near Troina in Sicily by forcing the local feudatories to give up such serfs as were not named in the privileges which had been granted by the Curia; claiming these in virtue of his sovereign title, he grouped them into a village, assigned them lands, and freed them from the *servitium* for five years.¹

Of this method of procuring colonists, a method highly advantageous to the villeins themselves, we find further instances among abbots and lords throughout Italy and Sicily, in the following century.

Among the most depressed of the serfs are to be found the Moslem and Greek peasants of Sicily, whose position as a whole compared badly with

¹ See Chalandon, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 537.

that of their brethren in the great towns. The Jews, too, numerous in such cities as Palermo, where there were fifteen hundred at the end of the century, though generally judged by their own laws, were treated as serfs who might be disposed of with the land upon which they dwelt.

Such were the elements of the kingdom, and such the classes that dwelt under the shadow of the Crown. Not averse but rather favourable to local liberty and the retention of local law and customs, the royal power was all-embracing and all-penetrating, as it were the corner-stone, the pillars, and the roof of the national structure. That which gave to the monarchy its strength and provided it with the means to carry out its designs was however found in a highly organised and scientific financial system.

The great revenues of the Crown of Sicily came from numerous sources. As the source of justice, the King received the profits of the royal courts, which came in a thin but constant stream; pleaders winning their cases paid a third to the Treasury; fees were paid when officials or judges fixed land limits, issued grants, or re-issued charters. Estate and chattels of the intestate or the convicted came to the Fiscus. As supreme landlord, the Crown took from its vassals, lay and clerical, reliefs and aids and escheating or forfeited land. A *collecta* or aid fell on the feudal tenants, who owed also military and naval service. Over the numerous royal domains the King was in the position of any

other feudal lord. Thus the men of the royal estates paid to the Crown rent, reliefs, market-dues, tolls, payments in money or kind on crops and flocks (*terraticum* and *carnaticum*), and were bound to labour on the demesne. They were subject also, as were manorial tenants everywhere, to the banalités or monopolies by which the lord forced his men to grind at his mill, bake at his oven, resort to his wine-press, and slaughter their beasts at his shambles at the accustomed charges. Roger II. was also lord of a conquered country. His predecessors, the Norman dukes and counts, had imposed on the towns and territories which had yielded by force or terms to them tributes which were an acknowledgment of their suzerainty. Thus Palermo on surrendering to Guiscard, Malta on submitting to Roger, the Apulian towns on yielding to Roger's greater son, had been subjected to a tax called *datio*, *data*, or *vectigal*, resembling the French land-tax or *taille*. To exempt a new commune or manor from this tax was for count or king to recognise in the fullest manner its free character. From its Arab and Jewish subjects the Crown took also a personal tribute, the *geziah*.

The vigorous commerce of so rich a land as Southern Italy yielded also a large revenue to the King, who both stimulated and protected it. Apart from the market dues taken from the royal demesne, the King's custom-house officials were active in every port and at every city-gate. Import

and export duties were levied by the *dohanerii maris* on woollen and linen goods, on steel, timber, corn, butter, cheese, and fruits. A considerable revenue was gained in corn-duties, for Sicily was the granary from which North Africa was largely fed, a fact which explains in part the vassalage of the Moslem cities of that coast. Octroi duties were paid at the entrance into towns, upon cattle and the necessaries of life. Foreign ships, going into Messina harbour, had to pay port-duties.

Two sources of revenue were in particular most lucrative, most valued, and jealously controlled, namely the customs, and the state monopolies. It was rarely that the Crown allowed any exemption from the former and the exemption was a high favour; thus Salerno, the old Norman capital, was allowed to import and export corn, vegetables, and fish freely; the bishop of the new foundation of Lipari-Patti might export from abbeys subject to him corn, cheese, and butter; the abbot of San Salvatore, Messina, archimandrite over many Greek monasteries, was permitted to export two hundred loads of corn on his own ships to Africa and bring back other commodities duty-free. But these exemptions only serve to show the rigid insistence on the royal right.¹

The state monopolies were those of the forests, the manufacture of pitch, fisheries, especially the tunny-fisheries, salt, iron-mining, dye-works, the

¹ For these I am indebted to Dr. Cohn's *Geschichte der normannisch-sicilischen Flotte*, pp. 84-86.

quarrying of stone, the silk-industry. The tunny-fisheries were especially lucrative and none but Salerno and a few monasteries were given the right of free fishing. The chase was reserved to the King; if he conceded the right to hunt, a fourth of the beasts killed were his. Similarly the manufacture of silk was a state industry, and Falcandus describes the royal factories which stood at the very windows of the King's palace in Palermo. The making and sale of salt was also a *regale*; we know of only one instance where the right to private salt pits was conceded. The forests of the kingdom were the King's, and were especially vital to his military and naval designs. From the forests of Sicily and Italy were derived the timber of his galleys; the necessity of pitch for his navy made its manufacture a jealously-guarded royal right, and the same needs of war-material, castle-building and so on, explain the State's claim to mines and quarries.

In addition to actual revenue and dues convertible into revenue, the Crown claimed and exercised the powers inherent in sovereignty everywhere in the West, to be furnished with a feudal army at need, and to be sustained by his vassals and subjects in his journeys through the kingdom, a right called in feudal terminology "*fodrum*" and in our later English "purveyance."

To what purposes, then, did Roger II. devote the vast revenues which he received. A portion of his outgoings took the honourable form of

maintenance of such learned men as Edrisi and other Moslems and Greeks at his court; Arab poets, Greek clerics, and skilful craftsmen at all his capitals received his bounty; so, apparently, did the School of Salerno. The many monasteries which he founded or benefited, and, further, the new dioceses which he mapped out, were endowed from state revenues. Large sums were devoted to the royal palaces at and around Palermo, in Messina, and Salerno, whose beauty and magnificence added to his glory. Also a vast army of ministers and officials from the "emir of emirs" down to the humblest bailli were to be partially paid from the state purse. His great designs on Constantinople, his actual conquests in Africa—the tributes from which, however, soon repaid him,—the numerous embassies which a complicated foreign policy made necessary, all these drained away so rich a revenue.

It was indeed mainly to his army and navy that the King's first thoughts were given. Perhaps half of his armed forces was furnished by the Crown vassals and their men, by the towns and the people generally, for military service was the duty of all subjects; again to guard and maintain the royal castles was a feudal service, and the navy was largely provided by the vassals, cities, and communes of the kingdom, particularly of Sicily.

But the permanent and most effective part of the royal forces by land and sea was provided from

the Treasury. Even of the sailors found by the towns which owed it to the King a large number were paid by the Crown. When the feudatories, their forty days' service done, drew home again; when the galleys of Salerno and Amalfi had filled up the due number of days, then the permanent troops and the royal fleet are those who are in the pay of the Crown. Among these the Moslem mercenaries played a great part; famous for their skill in siege-craft, their savage methods of war, their powers as archers and foot-soldiers, and especially trusted by their Norman lord as imperious to Papal menace, and owing all their safety and prosperity to him alone. Paid as they were, yet their services were of a half-feudal or tributary kind; in return for the toleration and self-government afforded them by the first Roger, they apparently consented to serve under his banner and that of his son, organised and led by their own officers or *kaid*s.

Such was the royal power and such the constitution of the kingdom of Sicily, founded in all their essentials under Roger II. Most of the structure is his, though he built upon a foundation already existing, and left it to his two successors to put coping-stones here and there. The fiscal system is in full swing under him; elsewhere we see a development from below, and the Master Justiciar and Master Camerarius whom his work foreshadowed appear actually only after his death. Again the credit of a royal power which brought

all classes into obedience under the Crown must be his. It was, if we except the ancient Byzantine Empire and the Moslem states of Spain, the first complete instance that Europe had shown, since the age of Charles the Great, of a monarchy essentially non-feudal or at least deriving its strength from non-feudal institutions, and confining feudalism within limits which made it a source of strength rather than of danger to the State. One must not, indeed, overlook the fact that the Anglo-Norman dynasty of England had in William the Conqueror set considerable bounds to feudalism, and in Henry I. made the first step towards a real monarchy in bringing the central and local institutions into touch with one another, through justices despatched into the shires, and in creating an exchequer system. England and Sicily were not without influence upon one another. But in spite of much learned conjecture it is more reasonable to believe that England learned from Sicily rather than Sicily from England. Robert of Selby, the Chancellor of Roger, is the first of that Anglo-French immigration to Southern Italy which resulted in many prelates of English birth succeeding to the sees of the Norman kingdom and which centred round Adrian IV. and John of Salisbury; it is as a man of middle age that the kaid Thomas Brown returns to England, to give his experience of Roger's chancery to the service of Henry II.¹ The Norman origin of the Hauteville dynasty, the

¹ See Appendix C.

close relations with France, and the necessity of organising the feudal side of the kingdom led naturally in Sicily to the appearance of the Chancellor, the Constable, and other officers whose names and offices are common to England and France no less than Sicily. And indeed in time this side of the administration tended to grow at the expense of the non-French elements. But Roger himself drew largely from Byzantine and Moslem institutions in seeking models for the royal government. It was from Constantinople and Cairo, it was among his Byzantine and Saracen officials, that he found the institutions, the statecraft, the expert bureaucratic knowledge which give his government its most characteristic and non-Western features, the great and sacred prestige of the royal name, the all-informing activity, the despotic and yet benevolent action of the royal power. It was from this side that he became the patron of such science as distinguishes the School of Salerno, that he encouraged industries and commerce while diverting the profits of trade to the royal exchequer. It was indeed the financial organisation of the Sicilian monarchy which was unique; no records exist to prove the value of the royal revenues, but it can hardly be doubted that with so exacting and systematised an exchequer, acting upon a land so naturally favoured as Southern Italy and still more Sicily, the incomings of government vastly exceeded the badly-organised and predominantly

feudal revenues of the Capetian or Angevin kings.

A feature of the royal power more pleasing to contemplate is the extension of justice and law over a kingdom long scourged by war and internal troubles. The Assises directly provide for the control of local justice and the punishment of judges who pervert their sacred office. Yet if local judges fail, the Curia can be reached by the cry of the wronged, of every class and race; all can appeal from injustice to the royal majesty.¹

The assurance of justice was found in the King himself, who had that instinct for equity which marks William the Conqueror, the two first Henrys of England, and other princes of the Anglo-Norman race, and the great organisers of all ages. The records of Roger II., a man of stern rather than lovable character, free the eulogy of Alexander of Telese from any charge of being over-emphasised or over-courtly.

He was a lover of justice and its defender, and the sternest oppressor of evils. No one did he ever seek to punish by forejudging. So great and so salutary was the fear of him that in all the confines of his realm . . . all iniquity was suppressed . . . so that what the Psalmist said seemed to be fulfilled, "Justice and Peace have kissed one another."²

¹ "Ab iniquis iudicibus ad maiestatem regiam appellarunt." *Chron. Causariense*, ed. Ughelli, t. x., p. 377.

² *Al. Tel.*, iv., c. iii.

CHAPTER X

THE CIVILISATION AND THE RACES OF THE KINGDOM

THE civilisation of Southern Italy in the century of the Norman conquest centred itself in the great cities of the western and eastern coasts; outside these there were few great abbeys, and the little walled communes which took the place of the villages and manors of Northern Europe in the agricultural organisation of the country, though well adapted to its needs, and favourable to the instinct of self-government, were too isolated and small for the development of the arts. The Norman conquest, at first disturbing, eventually stimulated the artistic and literary life of Southern Italy; in Campania and Apulia we find a great development of church-building with its kindred arts; in Sicily the craft of Latin no less than Arab and Greek architects was called into greater play by the patronage of the first Norman princes and their ministers. Yet in the main it is still to the cities and a few great monasteries that we must look for the arts and sciences of the age.

The north-western part of Roger II.'s kingdom contained two of the greatest centres of religion and learning in Italy; these were the abbeys of Monte Cassino and La Cava, which, in the troubled century which saw the Norman conquest, were beacon-lights of Latin civilisation and Catholic doctrine to the south.

The abbey of La Trinità still stands high over the valley of Cava dei Terreni, six miles distant from Salerno. It was founded as a Cluniac House in 992 by Alferius of the princely line of Salerno. Reconstructed in 1012-1025, it was consecrated by Urban II. in 1092; from the first it was the recipient of noble gifts from Lombard princes and citizens whose skulls are heaped in thousands in the caves behind the church. In 1058, Gisulf II., the last Lombard prince of Salerno, granted to it three noble estates; in 1123, as if to show the sad vicissitudes of Lombard history, Gaimar, grandson of Gisulf's brother Guy, Count of Sorrento, entered the community of monks, granting to the abbey what was left of his patrimony, in the presence of Duke William, whose grandfather had supplanted the old princely race of Salerno. The archives of La Cava contain the greatest collection of Lombard and Norman diplomata which survive; among the charters of the Gaimars and Gisulfs is the famous Chrysobul of Roger himself. A centre of learning among the South Lombards, La Cava produced nothing more original than the "*Annals of Cava*," but her

great pride was the *Codex Legum Langobardorum*, transcribed in 1004, the completest digest that we possess of Lombard laws and royal edicts, which is still to be seen in the archives.

Of European as well as of Italian fame was Monte Cassino, mother of all the Benedictine abbeys of the West, and of an age dating back to 529.

The possessions of the great abbey in the twelfth century were princely to a degree. Lombard dukes, Frankish kings and emperors, Norman princes had heaped gift after gift upon Monte Cassino, so that its abbot was one of the greatest landed magnates in Italy. Gisulf II. of Benevento (732-749) was the first to amplify and secure to it its already wide possessions; among later donors were the Lombard King Desiderius, Charles the Great, the Emperor Otto II., Richard of Capua, and Robert Guiscard. Landenulf of Capua, in 992, granted the abbey the county of Aquino; one hundred and twenty-three churches and monasteries in Bari, Naples, Benevento, Gaëta, and elsewhere were in its gift. The extent of its temporal sway in 1070 was proudly and effectively defined upon the bronze doors which the abbey owed to the Abbot Desiderius: on the right and left of these gates were inscribed the names of the abbey lands; they included whole towns such as San Germano and Pontecorvo, and churches and lands so far away as Dalmatia, Sicily, and the march of Fermo.



¶ cum deinde uisus multis plures pariter accipere libros.



DESIDERINO, ABBOT OF MONTE CASSINO, OFFERING CHURCH TO ST. BENEDICT
(FROM BERTAUX, *L'Art dans l'Italie*)

Both emperors and popes combined to exalt the splendour of Monte Cassino. In 748, the Pope Zacharias made the abbey first in honour among all the abbeys in the world. The monks were to choose the abbot personally after a vacancy and present their choice to the Pope; the abbey was freed from all jurisdiction save that of Rome itself; no bishop was to celebrate mass in its boundaries except by invitation of the abbot, or claim any authority over its lands and churches.¹ In 1067, a Bull of Alexander II., confirming these privileges, granted to the abbot the right to appear in sandals and dalmatic like a Legate at the great feasts of the Church.

The great monastery was especially favoured by, and closely attached to, the Western Empire. In 787, Charles the Great visited the abbey, confirmed its possessions, and commanded that it was to be looked on as "an Imperial Chamber"; the monks were to be "chaplains" and the abbot "Arch-Chancellor" of the Empire; the latter was to have borne before him the imperial *Labarum* and gemmed cross of gold, and to drink out of a golden cup. The abbey thus came under the broad wing of the Empire and enjoyed the right of *Mamburdio* or *Mundoburdium i. e.*, of imperial protection and exemption from every other dominion. Otto II. in 983 reaffirmed the *Mundoburdium*, decreeing that no gastald, duke, viscount, or other should have any jurisdiction over the

¹ See Tosti, *Storia della badia di Monte Cassino*, vol. i., p. 83.

abbey. Favoured as it was by the Papacy, in closest connection with the Empire of the West, possessed of enormous resources and prestige, we have seen what an important part in the two centuries of Norman conquest was played by the great monastery.

It was not only that Monte Cassino was the first of all Western abbeys, but its position on the great hill commanding the road from Rome south to Capua, whose summit was crowned by its half-castellated walls, made it of supreme strategic importance. At the commencement of the twelfth century it represented along with the city of Benevento practically all that survived of Lombard domination in Southern Italy. The wars of Roger with the Pope and the Empire made it once more a battleground of the opposing forces. We have seen how, in spite of Innocent and the Hildebrandine party, the eloquence of Peter the Deacon in the camp of Lagopesole successfully reasserted the *Mundoburdium* of the Empire over the great abbey. But the days of the imperial connection were numbered. In 1130 and 1132, Roger had confirmed the possessions of the abbey. Lothar in 1137, in installing Wibald as abbot, asserted for the last time the imperial suzerainty and protection, affirming all its possessions, styling it "the special chamber of the Roman Emperor," and declaring that the confirmation of the abbot was the sole right of the Empire. In December, 1147, Roger granted by the hand of Robert the Chancellor

a deed in favour of the hospital of the abbey: the wording has the true ring and the proud periods of sovereignty about it, and implies that the King of Sicily, Capua, and Apulia has superseded the Emperor as suzerain of Monte Cassino.¹

The learning and piety of Monte Cassino were well worthy of its riches and its fame. Its library was already one of the greatest in all the West, and the literary traditions of the abbey were ancient and worthily sustained from the days of Paul the Deacon onwards. After the troubles which culminated in the Norman conquest there was a veritable renaissance under Desiderius, abbot from 1057 to 1087. One of the noblest personalities of the eleventh century in Italy, Desiderius was a son or near kinsman of Landulf V. of Benevento. A Lombard patriot and superior of an abbey whose traditions were all Lombard, he was on terms of almost paternal affection with Richard of Capua. During his rule Leo of Ostia was labouring faithfully in the abbey archives. The history of the Norman conquest was completed by Amatus of Salerno in the scholarly refuge of the abbey and dedicated to Desiderius in touching and affectionate words: "I wish to die in the reign of that holy abbot and pray that he may survive me so that on the last day of my life he may give me absolution of my sins."

¹ Tosti, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 193. It speaks of the abbot as *fidelis noster*. In 1190, the abbot of Monte Cassino does homage to King Tancred among the barons of the Campania.

A third writer—though not a historian—added to the fame of Monte Cassino under Desiderius. Constantine of Africa was born in Carthage; after long journeyings in Egypt and India he brought his medical learning to Italy, and at Reggio attracted the friendly notice of Guiscard. The Duke made him his secretary in 1063, but after some time Constantine retired to Monte Cassino where he died in 1087. The African was one of those scholars through whom the learning of Greeks and Arabs was made accessible to the Latin world. In addition to original works upon medicine he translated into Latin from Arabic the *Viaticum* of the Moslem or Hebrew doctor Ysaac, and the *Theorica et Practica* of Hali-Abbas.¹

A great restoration of the abbey buildings was carried out by Desiderius. The ancient Church of St. Benedict, all but destroyed by Lombards and Saracens, was partially restored by the abbot John I. (905). The work was completed by Desiderius, in 1066, and dedicated in great pomp by Alexander II. in 1071.² After the dedication, the abbot was able, through the generosity of Mauro, a rich merchant of Amalfi, to crown the work with those bronze doors which were then only to be procured from Constantinople.

The art of casting bronze and graving upon that

¹ Compayré, *Great Educators*, p. 250.

² *Description du Mont Cassin*, p. 42. The church of Desiderius was overthrown by earthquake in 1349.

metal, if not unknown to the West, was yet practised at its highest perfection among the Greeks, and Desiderius, in sending to the Byzantine capital to have the work executed, paid tribute to the superior civilisation of the Greeks, which retained its hegemony over Italy still. Leo of Ostia describes the procuring of the bronze doors almost as if it were a delicate diplomatic mission.¹ The abbot sent a monk to Constantinople with letters of recommendation to Michael VII. and thirty pounds of gold along with him, for the purpose of having made by Greek workmen, along with the metal doors, an enamel facing for the high altar of the Basilica, representing stories from the Bible. The Emperor proving gracious, two gates of bronze were cast in Constantinople, and being brought over sea to Monte Cassino, were placed on either side of the great altar, enclosing the choir: before the altar there was then hung a great beam of bronze carrying fifty candelabra of the same metal, under which again hung thirty lamps. The church, as completed, contained also a pulpit or "ambone" of timber, built with steps of gold and adorned with mosaics.

The famous bronze doors of Monte Cassino still exist to show that at that age metal work,

¹ Leo Ostiensis, *Chron. Cas.*, lib. iii., c. 33, *M. G. H. SS.*, t. vii., p. 574 seq., and *Narratio de consecratione . . . ecclesiæ Cassinensis.*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. clxxiii. See also Tosti, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 339-40. The year was 1071.

no less than mosaic, was almost the monopoly of the Greeks, and that in art the Westerns were still the clients of the Byzantines. The right-hand gate is covered with eighteen panels upon which are seen, inscribed in gold lettering, the possessions of Monte Cassino at that date: that on the left, also inscribed with a further list of abbey lands, is apparently not the one cast in Constantinople, but was made at Amalfi, in the reign of Desiderius's successor, the original left door having been lost at sea in coming from Greece.

Not only at Monte Cassino but in many other churches of Southern Italy, did the gift of bronze doors of Byzantine make attest the taste and munificence of patrons of that age.

Amalfi, Atrani, and the Grotto Church of Monte Gargano alike owed such a gift to a single family of merchant princes of the former town, Pantaleo and his sons. The Lombard Landulf Butromiles made a gift of bronze gates to the cathedral of Salerno in 1084, and it is probable that, after the example of Pantaleo, he had the work executed in Constantinople. Yet it is significant of the passing of the Byzantine influence in art as in politics that from the beginning of the twelfth century, great native artisans are able to rival their former masters, the Greeks, and produce the bronze gates which are still the glory of many a Campanian and Apulian town. The mausoleum of Bohemund at Canosa, built in 1111, is closed by doors of bronze

which are the work of one Roger, a Norman of Melfi, whose name is in the inscription over the figures of Guiscard and his sons.¹ The doors of the cathedral of Trani were cast by the Lombard Oderisius of Benevento, between 1119 and 1127. The cathedrals of Ravello, Trani, and Monreale owe magnificent bronze portals to a great artist of Italian birth, namely Barisanus of Trani; they date from 1179, 1163, and 1174 respectively; Monreale has an even finer bronze door cast by Bonnanus of Pisa in 1186. The art of which the Greeks, a century before, were the acknowledged masters had now passed from them into native hands.

It is mainly to the great cities that we must look for the civilisation of Southern Italy. Amalfi, Naples, Gaëta, Bari had been famous names in the century before the founding of Roger's kingdom, and were still among the first of the Mediterranean sea-towns. The glory of Naples indeed seemed for a moment quenched when, after five hundred years of independence, her last native duke fell by Roger's side at Rignano. With Sergius VII. ended the *Magistri militum* who had long struck their own coinage and carried all the insignia of sovereignty. The ducal palace on the brow of Monterone remained forsaken save at such times as Roger's short-lived sons entered its gates. It was a century of eclipse for Naples,

¹ "Sancti Sabini Canusii Rogerius Melfiæ Campanarum fecit has januas et candelabrum."

but Frederick II. in the thirteenth, and the house of Anjou in the fourteenth, century, were yet to make her mistress of all the towns of the south. Under Roger II. she was yet great and populous; twelve gates attested the vast circumference of her walls and eighty *basilicæ*, churches, and monasteries of the Greek and Latin communions, the extent of her population.

Amalfi was destined to a more lasting eclipse. The eleventh century saw her real glory, when she could boast of quarters in Constantinople and Jerusalem, of an active trade, a free constitution, a coinage, the gold "taris" of Amalfi, which were in as great repute almost as the "besants" of Greece, and a great marine organisation.¹ Her importance and greatness in this age are strikingly shown in the history of a line of merchant-princes, who were munificent patrons of art and as distinguished in the civil history of their century as were a Gisulf or a Guiscard in the political.

¹ Of the so-called "Maritime Code" of Amalfi little that is certain can be said. Freccia (*De subfeudis*, bk. i., c. vii.) writing in 1570 says that the maritime law called the *Tabula Amalphitana* was observed by the whole kingdom of Naples, and so began a loose statement which has been reproduced frequently from his time to ours. Pardessus, *Us et coutumes de la mer* (1847), t. i., pp. 141 and 205, supposes that what Freccia meant was a version drawn up at Amalfi of the Roman Law concerning the sea. Venice and Trani had such a version, also, and Trani of Apulia really seems to have had *ordinamenta et consuetudo maris* as early as 1063, these being, therefore, the earliest mediæval maritime code known to us. The supposed *Tabula Amalphitana* does not exist.



BRONZE DOORS OF THE CATHEDRAL OF RAVELLO, NEAR AMALFI (1179)

PHOTO BY BROGI

Amalfi, like Naples, remained in close contact with the Greek world; she was a centre from which Byzantine art radiated into Lombard Italy. Favoured by a series of Emperors, her merchants built noble palaces in the Amalfitan quarter at Constantinople. Among these trader-princes was a family founded by a Count Mauro of Amalfi, about 1000 A.D., which became exceedingly wealthy and distinguished in that century, and left memorials of themselves in many places as far apart as Jerusalem and Monte Cassino. In 1020 the Amalfitans had built in Jerusalem the hospice of St. Mary and the Magdalene for Christian pilgrims; this was added to by Mauro, son of the above, in 1050; surviving into the next century it became the seat of the order of St. John of the Hospital. A similar hospice at Antioch owed its existence to him.

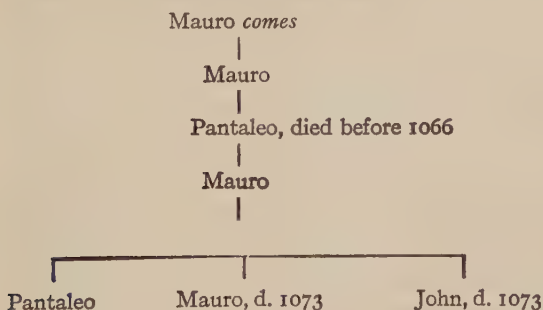
But it is rather as donors of the finest and earliest bronze doors of Southern Italy that this princely family is to be remembered. The great gate of bronze of St. Andrew's Cathedral at Amalfi was cast at the command of Pantaleo, a son of the above Mauro, in 1065; his name is still to be seen upon the panels. Mauro, son of Pantaleo, was the real donor of the bronze doors which the abbot Desiderius ordered to be wrought at Constantinople for the new church at Monte Cassino; the names of Mauro and Pantaleo are still to be read, not only upon the gates of the latter, but also upon the bronze doors of St. Paul, without the walls of

Monte Cassino, which are also of splendid Byzantine workmanship. The great shrine of St. Michael on Monte Gargano was also enriched by this family; it was Pantaleo who, in 1076, presented the bronze doors, cast by his orders in Constantinople, which still keep the entrance to the Grotto Church of the Archangel; the inscription over the doors still remains—*rogo vos omnes qui huc venitis causa orationis ut prius inspiciatis tam pulchrum laborem et sic intrantes pregamini Dominum proni pro anima Pantaleonis qui fuit auctor hujus laboris.*

The family to whom South Italy owed so much did not escape the vicissitudes of fortune which ruined the noblest families around them. In 1062 they generously entertained in their palace at Constantinople Gisulf II., Prince of Salerno, who was then seeking aid against the Normans from the Greek court. Their kindness was ill-requited. Gisulf, a man of cruel disposition, and made desperate by Norman aggression, fell savagely upon Amalfi in 1073, hoping to capture its fleet. In a naval skirmish, John, son of Mauro, was slain; another, also named Mauro, was captured. The Prince of Salerno, failing to extract the vast ransom of thirty thousand besants which he demanded from the family, had his prisoner blinded, mutilated, and finally flung into the sea.¹

¹ Delarc, *op. cit.*, p. 540, gives a genealogy of this interesting family:

It was in the same year (1073) that Sergius VI., last of the hereditary dukes of Amalfi, died. Passing under Norman lords, Amalfi, except for a short interval, was never free again; the Crusades, in which it played little part, gave the day to its northern rivals Pisa and Genoa; under Roger II. its seamen had the satisfaction of striking hard blows against Venetians and Pisans and distinguished themselves in the royal fleet, but the spirit of Amalfi declined with its ancient liberties, and the sack of the town by the Pisan fleet, in 1135, may be counted as only one of the blows which brought the famous maritime republic to the ground. Amalfi is now a town of only 7000 people, but there remains enough in its noble cathedral, in the church of S. Salvatore of Atrani, and the cathedral of Ravello, towns which were daughters and subjects of Amalfi, with their Byzantine doors, Saracenic arches, and Lombard-Norman exteriors, to attest the former greatness of the



But exact identification of the different members is difficult.

little city, which showed the way of greatness to the northern sea-republics.

The old Lombard capitals of Southern Italy remained more Latin than Amalfi or Naples. Of Benevento, Capua, and Salerno, the latter exhibits the most sustained intellectual activity in this period. If Amatus wrote at Monte Cassino, he was yet of Salerno. A series of archbishops, perhaps all of one family, from Alfano I. to Romuald II., maintained a long tradition as writers, as students of medicine, as ecclesiastical reformers who held high the Cluniac banner in the south. Such was Alfano I., Lombard, Cluniac, and poet, one of the few who did not fear to go the whole way with his hero Hildebrand, whose verses are war songs of the Papal cause.

The fame of Salerno was intimately connected with her schools of medicine. A centre of medical studies, Salerno preceded Montpellier in one field as Amalfi preceded Pisa in another; she was the "*fons medicinæ*," as Petrarch calls her. A hospital existed at Salerno as early as 820; in the eleventh century a school of medicine was in existence which was unrivalled in all Western Europe. Its great names were then Garimpotus (*circa* 1040) and Constantine the African (1063-1087). By 1100 we hear of the "*tota schola Salerni*" with its *magistri*. Like Oxford, it organised itself without any written act of incorporation; never definitely erected into a university, yet Roger II. granted to it a semi-

official status and recognition by one of his Assises. This was published in 1137; it enacted that a licence to practise medicine in the kingdom could only be granted by doctors of Salerno sitting together with royal assessors; to practise without this licence was to incur imprisonment and confiscation. The object of the King was "*ne in regno nostro subjecti periclitentur imperitia medicorum*"; the effect was to give a monopoly to Salerno. When Roger's grandson, Frederick II., erected Naples into a university in 1224, he made Salerno an affiliated branch of that university; from that time Montpellier began to outrival the older school of medicine.

In the last half of the eleventh century Salerno fell under Arab influence: Constantine the African was the means of introducing the superior medical knowledge of the Moslem world into Italy. At the beginning of the next century the doctors of Salerno, however, revolted against the Arabic influence, a revolt expressed in the work of *Archimathæus*, and the compilation of the famous *Schola Salerni*.¹ The latter, a long rhymed work, is the product of several *magistri* of Salerno; it is dedicated to an *Anglorum regi*, who is probably Robert Courthose. This long catalogue of the

¹ See *L'école de Salerne*, tr. into French, Ch. Meaux St. Marc, 1880, Introd. by Ch. Daremberg. *Archimathæus* (see p. 24 *ibid.*) recommends the doctor in visiting patients to place himself under the protection of God and the guardianship of the angel who accompanied Tobias; the necessity of a good "bedside manner" is insisted on.

rules of health has enjoyed the widest popularity until our own day; from the introduction of printing up to 1846, two hundred and forty editions of the work had been published. It is a compilation of numerous salutary if simple maxims as to the care of the body such as:

si vis incolumem si vis te vivere sanum
 Curas tolle graves, irasci crede profanum
 Parce mero cænato parum non sit tibi vanum.
 Surgere post epulas, somnum fuge meridianum.
 Si tibi deficiant medici medici tibi fiant.
 Hæc tria mens læta, requies, moderata diæta.

The fame of Salerno was attested by the many princes who came to recover from wounds or disease there in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The skill of the doctors in poisons was also less happily availed of: when, for instance, Bohemund retired to Salerno in 1083 to recover from the wounds got in the Greek expedition, his step-mother Sigelgaita, intent on getting the duchy for her own son, bribed the doctors to poison Bohemund; Guiscard, however, hearing of it, swore with a great oath that should his eldest son die, Sigelgaita should pay for it with her own head.¹

Among the archbishops of Salerno, Romuald II., (1153-1181), the historian, was also skilled in the art of medicine and was probably a licentiate of the School of Salerno. He speaks of himself

¹ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.*, in Duchesne, *Scriptores Normannorum*, lib. vii., p. 644.

as "*in arte medicinæ valde peritus*," and tells how he was called in to the sick-bed of William I., but the monarch would not accept his advice, and preferring more palatable potions, aggravated the complaint of which he died.¹

A long and interesting story told by Falcandus again introduces the Archbishop as a man skilled in medicine, and though the scene is laid in Palermo, shows us the doctors of Salerno as expert in deadly and horrible poisons.² In 1166, on the death of William I., his son being a child, the Regent Margaret called in her kinsman Stephen of Perche, who was made Chancellor. He thus displaced Matthew of Ajello, the Grand Notary, who had hoped to gain that office. As the latter began to correspond with his brother the Bishop of Catania (spring of 1167), Stephen set one Robert of Bellême (Bellesino) to intercept the messengers, one of whom was waylaid and wounded while his companion escaped with the letters. Matthew determined on revenge, and, Robert falling ill of a fever, introduced into the sick-room, among the doctors appointed by the Chancellor, a doctor of Salerno who had been promoted by his influence to be judge in that city. Next Robert died, and his doctors were astonished to find that his hair

¹ Romuald, *M. G. H. SS.*, t. xix, p. 435, or Del Rê, i, p. 206. King William died while still young, in 1166, of a "*fluxus ventris cui multa salutaria medicinæ consilia tribuit*" (Romualdus). "*Sed ipse sui ingenii auctoritate confusus sibi non nisi quæ opportuna videbantur medicamina adhibebat.*"

² Falcandus in Del Rê, i., p. 361.

had fallen out of its own accord, and that the skin came off at a touch from the flesh. The visit of the doctor of Salerno had been secret, but the Chancellor suspected that poison had been given and called in, as a high authority, the Archbishop of Salerno, who was then at court, and who came with others skilled in medicine. They elicited the fact that Matthew's agent had given the patient a syrup made from roses (*syruppus rosatus*) contained in a glass vial. Thereupon, one of the visiting doctors stretched out his hand, and showed it covered with a terrible wound which he said had resulted from his pouring some of the syrup into the hollow of his palm, and rubbing it into the skin with his finger. On extending his hand again the imprudent man found the skin breaking into cracks, and then coming off altogether. A notary William also deposed that one of Matthew's men had come frequently to him, asking him to point out the house in which Robert lay ill. The doctor from Salerno, being summoned, boldly declared that he had merely given the dead man a syrup of roses which he had obtained from an apothecary, Justus by name. But the latter asserted, "I have sold nothing to him the whole of this month." The result was a trial by the Curia, and the doctor of Salerno was sentenced to the forfeiture of all his property and thrust into prison under sentence of death; he could not, however, be induced to betray the instigators of his crime. The story throws a lurid light upon the court



TWO SCENES REPRESENTING :

1. THE ILLNESS AND DEATH OF WILLIAM II
 2. THE GRIEF OF THE CITIZENS OF PALERMO, THE BARONS, AND THE DOMINE CURICE
- (FROM THE BERNE MANUSCRIPT OF PETER OF EBOLI, WITH ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO
 INSTITUTO STORICO ITALIANO FONTI, PER LA *Storia d'Italia*, ED. SIRAGUSA)

intrigues that filled the reigns of Roger's son and grandson.

Salerno received one noble architectural monument of Norman rule in the cathedral, rebuilt from a Lombard foundation by Guiscard, and dedicated in 1085 to St. Matthew; the Duke's name is written above the bronze doors brought by Landulf Butromiles from Constantinople; Guiscard's gallant wife Sigelgaita is entombed in the left nave, and in the south aisle is the sepulchre of Gregory VII. But both in Campania and Apulia the advent of the Norman dukes and the Norman bishops whom they brought in led to the founding of many noble churches. The church of Santa Trinità in Venosa, built by Drogo, consecrated in 1058, where Guiscard, his wife Alberada, and two of his brothers lie together; San Sabino at Canosa where Bohemund sleeps under the turbeh of a Moslem marabout; the cathedral of Melfi, the first capital of the Normans, built under Roger II. and completed in 1153; the cathedral of Trani, finished in 1139, all attest the munificence of the house of Hauteville.

At Bitonto, Lecce, Barletta, Bari, Troia, a similar activity showed itself. In the ancient capital of the Catapans the fruits of this activity are to be seen in the noble church of St. Nicholas of Bari.¹ Begun in 1087, for the reception of the relics of that patron saint of mariners, the church was consecrated in 1089, and finished in

¹ Bertaux, *op. cit.*, i., p. 335.

1139. The Treasury contains with other relics an iron crown which, it is said, was cast for the King in 1131; at all events his daughter Constanza and Henry VI. were crowned with it in this church.

Bari indeed was to Apulia what Palermo was to Sicily, and Salerno to the Campanian coast; a true capital, famed as the residence for a century of the Greek viceroy, all important as friend or foe to the Norman dukes of Apulia and the Hauteville King, snatching in the interval between the decline of Guiscard's power and the triumph of Roger II. a brief moment of liberty and glory. Practically free under the second Duke Roger, from 1123 Bari had a constitutional prince of her own in Grimoald Alferanites, under whom she promised to become a "Republic of Saint Nicholas" and a fair rival to the "Republic of Saint Mark," in the Northern Adriatic. The signory fell with Grimoald in 1131, but again in 1137 revived under a new prince; with the surrender of 1139 and the death of Jacquintus the independence of Bari passed away.¹

The art of Lower Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is to be found in its churches. The palaces of the dukes and merchant-princes of Amalfi, Salerno, Naples are gone; even of Roger II.'s mainland castles and palaces nothing is left.

¹ Cf. *Le Consuetudini della città di Bari*, edito a cura della commissione provinciale di archeologia . . . Bari, vol. v., ed. T. Massa, 1903, p. 13 seq.; and vol. vii., *L'Apulia ed il suo comune nel alto medio evo*, p. 388 seq., cap. xxxviii.

Of Sicily another tale may be told. In Palermo, Messina, and elsewhere the Moslem emirs had built without apprehension in the open country their pleasant villas; their Norman successors imitated them and thus we possess of Roger and the two Williams the noble Oriental palaces of Favara, La Zisa, and La Cuba.

It is in Sicily, mainly a Moslem island when the Normans entered it, that we see the art of Arab, Greek, and Latin blended most completely. At Cefalù, at Monreale, in the Cappella Palatina one fancies a Norman or Italian architect directing the general plan to the command of the Hauteville King; the general aspect is Norman, but the mosaic and bronze work show the hand of other races; Arab and Greek artists have been called in to beautify the interior, to paint the roof and walls, to deck with a blaze of colour and splendour what in the north would have remained stately but austere. At S. Giovanni degli Eremiti at Palermo, again, though the plan is that of a Latin cross, at least the Oriental domes show that Moslem architects have been given a free hand in part of the building. It is indeed a foundation of Roger's grandson William the Good that shows the most imposing example of the blended and gorgeous architecture of Norman Sicily: the cathedral of Monreale, founded in 1174, with its noble bronze doors, its grand western towers of Gothic style, its eighty thousand square feet of golden mosaics, on part of which the two Williams, clad in the

Byzantine pallium, are seen receiving the crown from the Saviour; again the stately cloister of whose two hundred columns each shows a capital dissimilar in carving; between these quaint Byzantine arches of golden colour, there still springs a Moorish fountain, as it might be in Seville or Granada.

So again Roger's summer palace of Favara, now but a ruin, is surpassed by William the First's palace of La Zisa, and William the Second's La Cuba, with their open courts, their Saracen columns, and distinctive honeycomb work upon the ceilings, true "vaulted pavilions" of half Moslem princes.

As long as the Norman dynasty lasts, Palermo is indeed the most splendid city of the kingdom; the true "*caput regni*," the "*felix civitas nostra Panormi*" of Frederick the Second's decrees. The true meeting point of the Latin, Greek, and Moslem worlds, Palermo of the twelfth century lives for us in the praises of its contemporaries, in the verses of Arab poets, in the glowing descriptions of Falcandus, in the travel books of the Moslem Ibn-Jubair and the Jew Benjamin of Tudela. No mediæval town can be more fully constructed out of the past. Falcandus, in particular, grows enthusiastic over this noble "seat of kings," with its markets, its Moslem quarters, its manufacture of silk, the noble groves of lemon and almond which fill the wide valley behind the city, its noble palaces the Joharia

(San Giovanni at the meeting of the sea and the Oreto), the new palace (Palazzo Reale), and Castellamare.

The situation of Palermo might well attract the princes who made it their capital. It was the greatest city of an island which abounded in wealth and in desirable things. In the mountains around Messina iron was to be found, in Etna and the central plateaux abundant sulphur and petroleum, in Trapani were salt mines. The sugar-cane was grown by the Moslems of Sicily; it is probable that under Roger II., sugar refineries existed in Palermo, under Frederick II., at least, the Crown encouraged this industry. The manufacture of cotton was probably already known in the island, as it certainly was in Spain, in the first half of the twelfth century; the stream of the Papireto on the south-west of Palermo provided the papyrus reeds; Roger II.'s commands that all titles to property should be renewed on account of the originals being eaten by wood-lice, implies at least that paper made from cotton was already as much in use as parchment.¹

To the enterprising and highly civilised Moslems of Sicily, Italy, among other things, owed the convenience of paper and the luxury of cotton. The same race produced a noble pottery in Palermo and Mazzara. It was from Palermo that Italy learned the art of silk-weaving, as perhaps Sicily learned it from the Greeks.

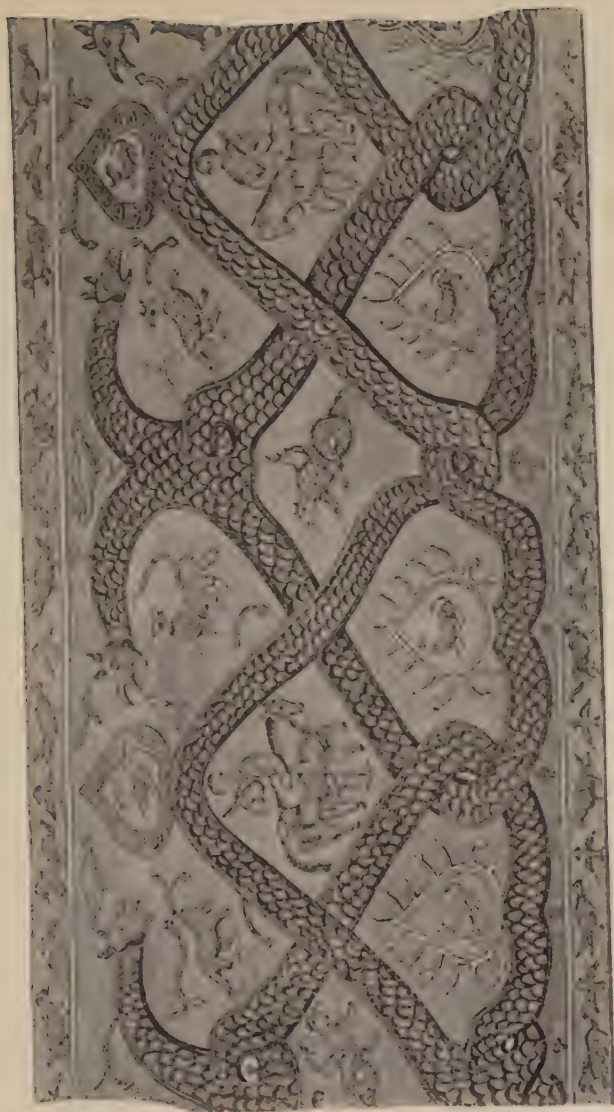
¹ Amari, *S. D. M.* iii., p. 58 *seq.*

It is picturesquely supposed that the famed silk-weaving industry of Palermo was installed in that city by George of Antioch, when he returned home from Corinth and Thebes, in 1146, bringing hundreds of captives from those cities, the centres of the silk-weaving industry in the Greek Empire.¹ Certainly a silk factory was set up under the very windows of the royal palace where the Greek captives localised their art, and one of Ibn-Jubair's informants on his visit to Palermo (1184) was an employé there. But almost certainly the silk-industry was already in existence in the capital of Sicily, and the gorgeous garments of Roger II., now at Vienna, were woven by Moslems in Palermo as early as 1132.

Thus of the cities of the kingdom, Palermostands pre-eminent as the home of artistic industry; of all its races it is from the Moslems that the refinements of life and the things of luxury come.

The civilisation of the Norman kingdom was the product of several races which preserved side by side their separate nationality. Italy and Sicily, like a palimpsest many times written over, show a long-continued overlaying of civilisations and peoples, in which even the remotest impressions have not been entirely obliterated. In the few centuries before the arrival of the Normans,

¹ Benjamin of Tudela, *op. cit.*, p. 10, discovered 2000 Jews in Thebes; "they are the most skilled artificers in silk and purple cloth throughout Greece." Perhaps George of Antioch's captives were Jews.



PART OF ROGER II'S MANTLE
FROM *I Regali Sepolcri Di Palermo*, DANIELE)

the Byzantines and the Lombard-Italians had given the predominant note. In Sicily the Moslem influence had partially overlaid the Greek, and with the Moslems came a small Jewish population, protected and tolerated as everywhere by their Semitic cousins. It was scarcely possible for the Norman-French, arriving in such few numbers, and recruited from a single aristocratic caste, to make a permanent impression upon a land already so well-peopled. In distinguishing the influence of the several races we shall see what theirs was.¹

The name "Norman" is one of convenient but loose application. If we may apply it to the French-speaking conquerors of Lower Italy, we shall confine it more justly to the period of 1016-1060, after which the influx of the invaders ceased or became a mere trickling through of individuals of the race. The name still survived and served both official and rhetorical uses; thus a charter of Roger II. speaks of "*nostri predecessores normandi*," and Falco of Benevento expresses his hatred of the "*Normanni*": in effect, though Roger II. and his two successors were only partially Norman by blood, the name is a not inexact designation for the first dynasty of Naples and Sicily.

As the Hauteville power rooted itself, the

¹ As regards this mixture of races of Lower Italy the works of Falcandus are full of information; see also Stubbs, *Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History*, pp. 152-4, for the English in Sicily; also Amari, *S. D. M.*, iii.

ruling race became French or Latin rather than Norman. The chroniclers of the eleventh century speak of the newcomers more often as "*trans-alpini*" than otherwise; as if they understood that the followers of Guiscard and Richard were drawn from a wide area of France. The first bishops and abbots of Sicily under the new régime are generally found to be French or Norman-French; on the mainland the sees are also invaded by compatriots of Guiscard.¹ Under Roger II. we find officials such as Robert of Selby, Guarin, and Thomas Brown who are French or at least Anglo-Normans. His two successors again installed several Norman-English in high ecclesiastical and official posts; such were Herbert of Middlesex, Archbishop of Compsa, 1169-1180, Richard Palmer, Bishop of Syracuse, 1165-1183, and thereafter Archbishop of Messina, Walter, Archbishop of Palermo, 1169-1187, and his brother Bartholomew, Bishop of Girgenti. It was after the death of William I. that the most considerable attempt was made to add to the purely French elements. Stephen of Perche, the Queen-mother's cousin, summoned by her to Sicily and made Chancellor and Archbishop of Palermo, was responsible for an influx of French which alarmed and angered both the nobles and the populace.

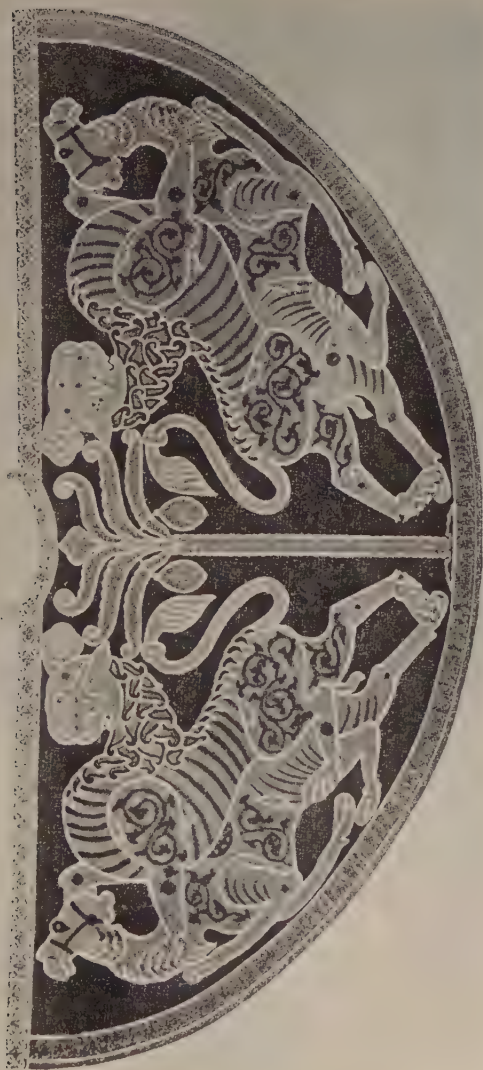
¹ See Delarc, *op. cit.*, p. 537, on the list given by Leo of Ostia of bishops present at the consecration of the church of Monte Cassino in 1071. Eleven of the archbishops and bishops of South Italian sees have unmistakable Norman names.

The Archbishop of Rouen sent thirty-seven youths to be educated in Palermo, probably for the ultimate purpose of introducing into the Latin churches the Gallican liturgy of France. It was more serious that Stephen showed open favour to French newcomers, whom he introduced into fiefs and posts in the Curia; of these Falcandus speaks with great bitterness, saying that after the insolent fashion of the people of France and Normandy, they applied the word "traitors" very readily to the Lombards, the Greeks, and the opponents of the Chancellor generally. He dwells at length upon the determined attempts made by these foreigners to introduce the feudal customs of North France into Sicily. Thus, John of Lavardino, who had been given the lands of Matthew Bonello, created a general revolt by demanding, according to the custom of his country, half the movable goods of his *oppidani* (people of the communes), to which they retorted that they were only bound to give of their free will according to their lord's necessities, and at fixed periods; only Greek and Saracen *villani* were subject to the heavier exactions. The Chancellor was accused of an intention to subject the whole people of Sicily to yearly dues and tributes according to the customs of France, "which has no free citizen class"—"*quæ cives liberos non haberet.*" The attempt to feudalise the local customs of Sicily on the North-French system met with failure.

In fact the feudatories and high ecclesiastics of Sicily, themselves of Norman, French, and Italian descent, had become under the two Williams nationalist in temper and strongly averse to foreigners of whatever country they might be. The patriot party which up to the final overthrow of Tancred's cause in 1194 fiercely opposed North-French or German influence, whose leader was Matthew of Ajello, as Falcandus was their advocate, gave as odious a significance to the word "*transmontani*," by which they indicated the foreigners, as the Lombards a century before had given to the names of the Normans and the "*transalpini*." An instance of this feeling, not lacking in humour, is given by Falcandus, who tells us how William II.'s uncle Roderic, son of the King of Navarre, came with many Spanish knights into Sicily at the invitation of his sister the Queen-Regent Marguerite, and was given a rich fief; the Sicilians however mocked at his name as being barbarous and unheard of; the Queen, therefore, ordered him to change it to Henry.

To what extent then did the Norman-French of Italy, so short-lived as a separate race, leave their impress upon the kingdom they founded?

The question of language may be briefly considered. The first Normans brought with them the *langue d'oïl* and along with it the North-French *gestes* of Charlemagne and his Paladins. The exploits of the Normans in Apulia and Sicily were inspired no less than those of Hastings by



MANTLE OF KING ROGER, WOVEN AT PALERMO, 1131
(FROM BERTAUX, *L'Art dans l'Italie*)

the recollection of the heroes whose valour and loyalty were familiar to them in the songs which already formed part of their knightly traditions. They further localised the romantic tales which they brought with them into the land they conquered. Thus the Charlemagne legend recounts that the Peers of France, returning from the Holy Land, gave to two mountains of Sicily the names Roland and Olivier. Next in fame among the *chansons de geste* is that which surrounds the name of William of Orange. Already at the close of the eleventh century, poems were in common currency and in the vulgar speech of North France about this hero. The story which holds first place in this famous cycle is that of the battle of Aliscans; it is highly probable that it was composed in Sicily at the end of the same century. The wars of Roger against the Moslems of the island coloured largely these *gestes* where the enemy is generally the Saracen.

A third cycle, the Celtic epic of Arthur, was brought into the south by the followers of Guiscard and Roger, and in the twelfth century the Lombards of Sicily, taught by their Norman masters, believed that the great British King lay imprisoned under Mongibel (Etna). But their own deeds gave to the Normans of Italy a fresh epic and the deeds of Guiscard, Bohemund, and Tancred became as memorable well-nigh as those of the Paladins. The heroes of the William cycle are connected on genealogically with the three

Hauteville heroes. Bohemund's romantic wars with the Turks and his captivity started a romantic theme soon widely spread; he is the first of the Frankish knights whose beauty and valour win the love of Saracen princesses and lead to their release. But the *langue d'oïl* was not to be in Italy the fount of a native poetry, epic or lyric, and though the Angevin conquest later revived the traditions of Charlemagne, it was the Sicilian dialect which under Roger II.'s grandson Frederick became the mother of Italian song.¹

The language of North France, which was the native speech of Richard of Capua and the Hautevilles, maintained its supremacy in the court of Palermo under the Norman kings. Thus Falcandus relates that the Queen's brother (Henry the aforesaid Roderic) being asked by certain of the barons why he admitted the superiority of the Chancellor Stephen in the administration, gave two reasons: one, that he lacked sufficient energy for the office of Chancellor; and the second, that he was ignorant of the French language, which was essential in the Curia.² So closely bound up with arms, chivalry, and the feudal spirit, the French language survived long in the court and the castles of the Sicilian kingdom; under

¹ See Gaston Paris, *La Sicile dans la littérature française du moyen âge*, in *Romania*, v. p. 108, and Gautier, *Les épopées françaises*, vol. iv., p. 474, etc. For Bohemund and the Turkish princess see Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, i., 314.

² "Quæ maxime necessaria esset in curia." Del Rê, vol. i., p. 366.

Roger's grandson Frederick II., it was first contested by the Sicilian dialect of Italian which took a literary shape among the poets of the court of Palermo.

Along with their language and their feudal customs, the Normans brought the characteristic architecture of North France. In the Campania, in Amalfi, Capua, and Salerno, the Basilican style was too strongly rooted for the Gothic of France to take root; here the model was the new abbey church of Monte Cassino. In Apulia, however, the Norman school found a freer scope; here the model was St. Nicholas of Bari, begun in 1087; it follows the churches of Caen in presenting a façade with a great naked wall regularly pierced with windows and flanked with towers. Barletta, Trani, Lecce followed the model of St. Nicholas and all along the Apulian coast and in the interior towns the style of North France rooted itself.

In Sicily the Normans introduced the round style into the eastern part of the island; in the west, as at Cefalù and the Capella Palatina, the pointed style was adopted from the first, since the twelfth century was well begun when the Norman architecture appeared there. But the pointed style did not develop as in England and France, and generally in Southern Italy the Norman found a sturdy rival in the older Basilican style, and had to fit itself to the traditions of the south.¹

¹ See Galley-Knight, *Normans in Sicily*, p. 327; Bertaux, *op. cit.*, i., p. 332.

Upon the institutions and terms of government the Normans had as partial an effect. In the Curia the names of chancellor, justiciar, *camerarius* and in the local administration the names of counts and baillis are evidence that the government had taken some of its materials from Northern France. We saw that Guiscard in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily retained Lombard, Greek, and Moslem officials, as he respected the laws of the three races. The relations between the Norman conquerors and the Lombards, whom they displaced, were determined more by the customs of the latter than those of the former. Richard of Capua makes a grant to Desiderius of Monte Cassino, "according to the customs of the Lombards"; Guiscard confiscates by due process of Lombard law. The first Norman feudatories apparently regulate feudal succession by a *Jus Langobardorum*, and make terms with the petty walled communes by which the latter, like Bari and Salerno, retain the advantages of the old native law. But if the feudal lords in Italy and Sicily failed to impose on the Italo-Lombard communities, other than the defenceless Greek and Moslem villeins, the severe manorial exactions common to North France, their overlords on the other hand tried to fix the relations between themselves and their vassals by customs native to the Norman duchy. Thus we see Guiscard enforcing an "aid" and insisting on the full military service; Roger II. applied the French

custom to the succession to fiefs, and by claiming the right of "marriage" and reserving criminal jurisdiction and coinage to himself, gave the monarchy a predominance, as against the feudal classes, which was essentially an extension of the recognised rights of the feudal suzerain in the north.

In the strict sense there was no feudalism in Apulia when the Normans entered on the scene; they introduced the system into South-Eastern Italy, but there as in all the kingdom the features of military land-tenure were modified and checked by the growth of royal power on the one hand and the persistence of local liberties on the other.

The Norman element remained a feudal or ecclesiastical one. A few of the men-at-arms joined the numerous class of freeholders and *servientes*; and some craftsmen of French origin found admission into the towns; but in the main the rural and the urban population remained uninfluenced by them. As an aristocratic caste, it was inevitable that the Normans of the mainland should soon mingle with the older ruling race; it does not seem that they brought many women with them, and Rainulf and the sons of Tancred set the example, generally followed, of marriage alliances with the Lombard nobility. The "Catalogue of the Barons," drawn up under William II. gives us a list of the feudatories of the Terra di Lavoro; the names are overwhelmingly Norman, but this fact need not imply that

the new race had kept its blood unmixed. In Sicily the conquerors from the first were of blended Latin stock.

Thus, though the personal and family names of the Normans rooted themselves as deeply in Lower Italy as those of the Lombards had done, their language left as little trace on popular speech and place-names; in a hundred and fifty years from the first influx they had become in blood and speech part of the Italian or earlier Teutonic race. None the less, they remained a caste apart, conscious of their origin, full of feudal and religious prejudice, stubborn against the Crown and contemptuous of the people; from Guiscard to Manfred their intransigent class-spirit was the bane of the kingdom.

The basis of the population of the Regno, apart from the Greek and Moslem elements, was Lombard.¹ In Apulia and the three former Lombard duchies, the inhabitants of the rural communes and inland towns were exclusively of the mixed Italian-Lombard race, although a Greek element played a part in Bari, Brindisi, and the Adriatic towns; while on the west the people of Amalfi, Naples, and the coast cities represented a purer Latin stock.

We have seen to what extent Lombard law and practices had been diffused in Southern Italy:

¹ See Falcandus and Amari *ut supra*; also Poupardin, *Études sur les institutions . . . des principautés lombardes*; and *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (R. S.), for a striking description of Messina in 1190.

the greater cities and rural communes, making terms with the Crown and the feudal lords, clung to their ancient customs, and, far into the century following Roger, continued to practise the *morgengab* and the *launegeld*, and to abide by decisions of the Lombard kings. On the other hand the state law of the new kingdom shows little traces of Lombard influence; the names of sculdais, gastald, and other Lombard officials fall into disuse.

In Italy, then, the Lombard-Italian stock formed the backbone of the population, organised and possessed of considerable liberties, in the communal towns. In Sicily a Lombard population was as much in evidence.

The first Count of Sicily, and his feudatories with him, realised the need of introducing into the island, then shared between Greeks and Moslems, a Catholic and Latin population. Every encouragement was given to an influx of Italian blood into Sicily. Pisans, Florentines, and Amalfitans arrived to share the trade of the coast-towns. At Nicosia, Randazzo, Vicari, Caltagirone, Cefalù, Lipari, and elsewhere arose a number of communes enjoying considerable liberties, the result of a bargain with count, bishop, or lord, who was anxious to promote Latin immigration. These are distinctly called Lombard by Falcan-
dus, and have, to this day, retained that character. Thus there are in Sicily, in our own time, 40,000 people who are described as speaking the

Lombard dialect of Italian. These original colonists, however, seem to have come from Northern rather than Southern Italy; the place-names of Sicily, indeed, seem to have been brought from many districts of the peninsula, and its dialect is full of words from the central and northern parts.¹

An unamiable character is given to the Lombard population of Italy by Falcandus, and to those of Sicily by other historians of the time. To Falcandus, whose pages are one long lament over the growing hostility of the races to one another, the Apulians are "a race always delighting in novelties who, if you order them to march to battle, will begin to fly before the war-standards are uplifted." Again they are "a most fickle people, always seeking after liberty, but unable to keep it when once secured, who are worth little in war, and cannot be quiet in peace." Perhaps the character of the Lombards did much to justify the cruelties of Roger II. in Apulia.

The Lombards of Sicily are, to Falcandus, like their brothers in Apulia, faithless, fickle, and prone to any crime; he draws a vivid picture of the atrocities perpetrated by them on the unoffending Moslems after Maio's death (1160), how Roger Sclavus and Tancred of Lecce retired to Butera and other Lombard towns, and led the Latin colonists, who were only too willing, in a series of raids upon the Saracens who lived along with the Christian population; in these massacres no

¹ *Vide* Amari, *S. D. M.*, iii., p. 222, and elsewhere.

age or sex was spared, and a general clearance was made of the Moslems. Doubtless the picture of Falcandus is overdrawn. But his description of the mob of Messina as composed of robbers and scoundrels of the worst type is confirmed by the author of the history of Richard Cœur-de-Lion's Crusade, in which the *Griffons* or Greek-descended townsmen of Messina, and their Lombard fellow-burghers, are represented as giving the worst of welcomes to the crusading armies. A mediæval seaport gives no fair standard but contemporary writers leave an impression that the Sicilian kingdom experienced the evils, no less than the advantages, that attend the mixing of races, the more so as the violent and fanatical Latin element gained the upper hand of the Greek and Moslem population.

The Byzantine influences that were so strong in the kingdom of Sicily depended not only upon an existing Greek population, but upon a deeply-rooted administrative system and a civilisation which were in possession of large parts of Italy and the southern island when the Normans first came in. In actual population, the Greeks were the preponderant element in Calabria and thence along the coastland of the Gulf of Taranto to Brindisi, and in the whole peninsula of Otranto. In Sicily, the Normans found the Byzantine population numerous in the eastern island and surviving in Palermo and the western cities. Except in the towns, the Byzantine population

had been almost submerged among the Saracen element, retaining their faith for the most part, but often displaying Arabic names.¹ Devoid of the protection afforded by residence in communes, these dwellers in villages found no alleviation of their lot under the Normans; along with the poorer Moslems with whom they were intermingled, they became or remained serfs *πάροικοι* or *μετοχίοι*, subject to the *angariae* or forced labour services. In the towns, notably Palermo and Messina, the Greeks remained, as we saw, free and influential. On the Italian mainland, namely in Calabria, Lucania, and the land of Otranto, the Byzantine element was numerous in the class of freeholders and tenants without service, while the Apulian cities retained a considerable element of their race.

For the Greeks, as for the other races, the Norman kings specially legislated. Thus a *Novella* or decree of 1150 confirms the local customs of the Byzantine population in the valley of the Crati and Calabria. The Orthodox Church, with its bishops, abbots, and priests, was given a complete organisation in the State. Many of the Assises of Roger II. were translated word for word, where they affected the Greek population, and though in the course of a century the Hellenic

¹ In a list of villeins living about Cefalù early in the twelfth century we find a curious medley of Arab and Greek names, *e.g.*, Abdallah, Basilius, Nicola-ibn-Leo, Ahmed-ibn-Roma, Isa-ibn-Giorgir, etc.; *v.* Amari, *S. D. M.*, iii., p. 200.

influence waned, Frederick II. found it necessary to have an official version of the Constitutions, as promulgated at Melfi, drawn up in Greek.

The Orthodox population, moreover, found several influential patrons in priests or high officials of their race whom Roger II. raised to the highest rank. Such were the Emir Christodulus, patron of Greek churches in Calabria, the monk Bartholomæus, founder of the Greek abbeys of Patir and Messina, Eugenius and George of Antioch in Palermo. In addition they had literary champions and friends at court, in Nilus, Cerameus, and others.

The influence of the Greek population was powerfully supplemented by the administrative system and civilisation, bequeathed by the Cata-pans of Apulia and the imperial rulers of Italy. Constantinople, in all these centuries the real home of political science and classical art, radiated over the nearer West an irresistible influence; the "Orientation" of Southern Italy in particular is the great feature of its history in this period; the Norman conquerors could not escape the "geographical fatality" of the land they inherited.¹

It is Guiscard who first appears on his coins and seals with Greek inscriptions, and dressed in the style of a Basileus. His nephew Roger, in building up a great administrative system, could no more avoid employing the trained and supple Byzan-

¹ Bertaux, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 16.

tines, than a Theodoric or a Clovis could dispense with the aid of the Roman bureaucracy. His Curia is full of Greek officials drawn from the Sicilian or Calabrian cities; the notaries and subordinate officials in particular were largely or mainly drawn from this race with its long traditions of political service, while, as we have described, Byzantines rose to the highest places in the State. The Greek language was, indeed, as necessary in the royal Curia as French was; thus William I. appointed Henry Aristippus, the Archdeacon of Catania, to be *protonotarius* over the notaries of the court, on the ground that he was skilled as well in Greek as in Latin.¹

Thus the Greek influence upon law and administration was profound. Roger based his royal absolutism on the imperial state-law, as he used the dress and style of the Basileus. Dealing with Latins, his diplomas and decrees are in that language, but even then, as in the Chrysobul to La Cava, his signature and title are in Greek. Upon the terms of an administrative organisation which they largely built up, the Byzantines impressed the language familiar to themselves; archons, logothetes, catapans, *strategi*, are found side by side with the emirs and kaid of Arabic, and the justiciars and chancellors of Norman origin. The titles of honour are still reminiscent of the court of Constantinople, as *protonobilissimus*; every name, almost, with

¹ Falcandus, *Del Rè*, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 314.

which the Curia concerns itself has its Greek counterpart; thus the feudal and Norman nobility itself appears as the *καβαλλάριοι*.

The Greek influence remained strong under Roger's two successors, yet it is obvious that it was on the decline. Numbers of Orthodox churches, notably that of George's creation, the Martorana, passed from the Greek to the Latin rite. If the language of documents be a test of such a decline, both the Arab and the Byzantine elements appear visibly dwindling before the Latin. Under Roger I. and Roger II., Greek and Arabic state documents hold the balance equal with Latin. Under William I. the relation is one to seven, under William II. one to ten, in the short reign of Tancred all are in Latin.¹ Yet the Greeks left a stamp which was indelible upon the governmental system of the Sicilian kingdom through all the mediæval period; of their skill in the arts we retain the permanent memorials of the glorious mosaics and mural paintings of Monreale and other churches, the cupolas, the pillars, the bronze doors of numerous cathedrals from Monte Cassino to Palermo.

Before passing to the Arabic elements in the kingdom, a word may be given to the Jews, a race which was usually found intermingled with, and protected by, the Mohammedans. Like the more numerous races of Southern Italy, the Jews were granted the protection of their

¹ Kehr, *Urkunden*, p. 239.

own laws.¹ The famous traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Sicily about 1170, found some one thousand five hundred of his people in Palermo, possessed of synagogues and full liberty to worship.² It is interesting to note that while Roger surrounded himself with officials and savants of several races, no Jew of prominence is found at court.

Of Arabic influence upon Roger II.'s state-system we have already spoken. The Moslem officials brought to his service great skill in the management of revenue and finance; it was to them that he owed the *Dohanæ* and what was, outside of Greece, the most efficient and scientific exchequer in all Europe. The lower branches of the Curia were full of Moslem clerks and notaries (*sahibs* and *kaid*s); even an Englishman, such as Thomas Brown, is given the title of *kaid* (*gaitus*). From the Arabic "emir" came a title and an office the highest in the kingdom, which soon passed into all the languages of Europe. Otherwise the highest official titles remain Greek or French, but *âmils*, *hakims*, *cadis* judged and commanded their own people, and stood answerable to the government.

When Guiscard and Roger entered Sicily, they found the Moslems the dominant race.

¹ "Latini, greci, iudæi, et saraceni unusquisque juxta suam legem iudicetur." Vito La Mantia, *Antiche consuetudini delle città di Sicilia*, p. clxviii.

² *Itinerarium*, ed. Adler, 1907, pp. 78-9.

As the conquest proceeded, the Arabs secured favourable terms because, holding the great cities, they were able to make a bargain with the invaders. Generally as at Palermo they secured liberty of worship and trade, but at Catania the town was given as a fief to the bishop, and the Moslems from the two kaid's down were enrolled as villeins. Outside the walled towns, the Mohammedans sank generally into serfs, and "*agarenus*," which meant a Saracen, became synonymous with villein-status. But in the cities the Moslems retained their high spirit, and for two centuries, from Roger I. to Manfred, supplied the backbone of the army.

Under the two Williams, the safety of the Arabs was menaced from every side save that of the court. Falcandus is full of laments over the unprovoked attacks made on the Moslems in Palermo during the *émeutes* against William I.; disarmed by Maio, they were now massacred by the Christian mob; in other parts of the island, they were so persecuted that they migrated en masse to the south of the island, "and even now," says Falcandus, "they hate the Lombards so much that not only do they refuse to return to those parts of Sicily, but they will not suffer people of that race to come among them."

Yet the Arab influence remained as strong at court as under Roger. William I. and William II. were if anything more Moslem to outward view than Roger; both spoke Arabic; both were sur-

rounded by a bodyguard of Mohammedan negroes; the court was full of eunuchs, *hâgibs*, or ushers, *giandars* or chamberlains, Moslem pages, slaves, concubines. The *Dohanæ* were still controlled by the kaid, and the Curia full of notaries and officials with Arab names. Palermo was still more than half Moslem, and perhaps contained 100,000 of that race under William the Good. It was under Tancred that the toleration policy was first betrayed by the Crown; Frederick II., indeed, made a great effort to reconcile the feud of Latin and Moslem, but after the advent of the Angevins (1266) the Arabs disappear as a distinct race.¹

It is perhaps to the Moslems, rather than to the Greeks, that we owe the distinctive and Oriental civilisation of Sicily under the Norman kings. For some centuries they made Palermo, Mazzara, and other towns as splendid and as distinctively Saracen as Cordova and Seville; they stamped a Semitic civilisation upon Sicily, and under the Normans built the stately palaces which are the most curious relics of that age, gave the gorgeous interiors and solemn domes to the churches, and, in the more domestic arts, introduced the making of cotton and paper and

¹ Whatever Arab or Greek blood remains in Italy and Sicily, there are now no Arabic or original Greek-speaking people left there. See Amari, *S. D. M.*, iii., p. 886, for an interesting list of Arab words in Italian: they include *azzurro* (azure), *butirro* (butter), *camicia* (shirt), *cifra* (cypher), *zero*, *dogana*, *gabella*, *magazzino*, *zenit* (zenith), *alambicco* (alembic), etc.



WILLIAM II'S PALACE OF LA CUBA, PALERMO, BUILT IN 1180

PHOTO BY BROGI

the refining of sugar into Sicily; as silk-weavers, they were as skilful as the Greeks themselves, and in the art of pottery, as distinguished as the ancients.

The history of Sicily as a part of the great Moslem world is illuminated by many Arab poets and travellers of that century. Of the work of the poets, born in the island or connected with it, a great deal remains, illustrating the relations of the Christians and the Moslems, and the power and splendour of the Norman kings. The reign of Roger II. was like a joyous morning to the Arab singers of Sicily, but it was the morning of a brief day; the sudden eclipse of their hopes is reflected in the poet Abd-al-Halim—"I loved Sicily in my first youth: she seemed to me a garden of immortal felicity. But scarce had I come to mature years, when behold, the land became a burning gehenna."¹

It is fortunate for our knowledge of the Sicilian kingdom that the three most distinguished travellers of the twelfth century visited and described the island which was the meeting place of East and West: namely Edrisi, whose work we have discussed, the Jew Benjamin of Tudela, and the Arab Ibn-Jubair. The latter, a Spanish Moslem of Valencia, came to Sicily in 1183 and spent some year and a half there or in south Italy; a description of what he saw and recorded will give us the

¹ Amari, *B. A. S.*, ii., p. 434; see also for Arab poetry, Schack, *Poesie der Araber in Sicilien u. Spanien*.

most living description of Sicily as a whole that we possess of that age.¹

Ibn-Jubair landed first at Messina, where he found few Moslems, save a handful of officials. He travelled then with his companions by the shore road to Palermo, noticing the numbers of his co-religionists along the route, and recording that they were well-treated though subject to a tax twice a year. He notices Casr Giafar, the gorgeous palace of the kings at Favara. Entering by the eastern gate of Palermo, his party was at once brought to the royal palace, and while they were admiring its beauty, there entered the *Mostalif* (possibly one of the *magistri dohanæ*), a majestic, white-bearded man, whose train was upheld by pages. Their first surprise was to hear him enquire in Arabic of what country they were; the second to discover in him a Moslem, when he pronounced under his breath the Mohammedan prayer of greeting. They were next taken in hand by an employé in the royal silk factory, called Yahya, who gave them a great deal of information about the King and the government. William II. was now thirty years old; he could speak, read, and write Arabic; a bodyguard of Mohammedan negroes guarded him constantly; in his magnificent palaces he lived the life and immersed himself in the pleasures of Moslem princes, being surrounded by officials, eunuchs,

¹ Amari, *Journal Asiatique*, 4 serie, t. vi. and vii., 1845-6; p. 537 seq.

servants, and concubines of Ibn-Jubair's faith. William's toleration was exemplified in a story that while he was once in the midst of his servants and women an earthquake was felt; the latter were struck with terror, but feared by their open prayers to reveal too openly their faith; the King, however, turning to them, commanded that each should invoke the Being that he adored.

Ibn-Jubair's informant told him, certainly with some exaggeration, that the principal as well as the lower places in the administration were confided to Musulmans; they all, however, observe the fast days in person or else compound by a fine; "this," says the geographer, "is indeed one of the mysteries of God."

In Palermo itself Ibn-Jubair found the Moslems very numerous, their mosques too many to be counted, their laws, liberty of trade, and industry, their own cadis secured to them; though the *Hutbah* (summons to general prayer) was generally forbidden, yet once a year at the great feasts it was allowed, and the name of the Abbaside khalif was then prayed for. In viewing the sights, Ibn-Jubair is struck by the beauty of the Antiochene's church (La Martorana), of which the internal walls "are all one piece of gold."

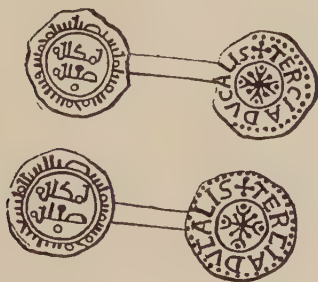
From Palermo the travellers went on to Alcamo and Trapani; at the latter place they found in readiness the great flotilla, which was to be directed upon Constantinople, and which did in fact strike a great blow at the Eastern Empire,

in 1185. Everywhere the open keeping of Ramadan and the tolerance showed to Islam amazed them: nevertheless, so a Moslem at Messina had told them, the full and open worship of Allah was unsafe, and this was confirmed by the kaid of Trapani, who told Ibn-Jubair that the persecutions inflicted on his people by the Christians were "enough to make one weep tears of blood," and that he and his race were anxious to sell all and emigrate to Moslem countries.

Such were the races, and such were the diverse elements, held together so skilfully by the Norman princes for more than a hundred years. Peter of Eboli, writing at the end of the twelfth century, calls Palermo the "happy city of the threefold speech" (*urbs felix populo dotata trilingui*); his phrase might serve as a summing-up of the Norman-Sicilian civilisation. The Hautevilles founded a state which was a parallel to those picturesque and strangely compounded states set up by the earliest Crusaders in Jerusalem, and Antioch, where a French baronage with a purely Western feudal code, the "Assises of Jerusalem," planted themselves on a land populated by many creeds and races, the home of venerable civilisations, in which now we find a Norman Tancred striking money upon which he appears with beard and turban and a Greek inscription about him, and the Lorrainer Baldwin of Edessa appearing on his coins dressed in the conical helmet and long tunic of mail like some rude baron of the West, but with

the words *Baldoinos doulos tou staurou* (servant of the cross) in Greek characters encircling him.¹

¹ Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, p. 45, pl. ii.; Engel and Serrure, *Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Âge*, pt. ii., p. 906.



THIRD OF A DUCAT, ROGER II.

CONCLUSION

THE AFTER-FATE OF THE KINGDOM

IT was fated for the first King of Sicily, as with many other great men of history, that he should leave the imposing fabric of a power which he had created, to a son inferior in character and energy to himself. Never did any kingdom need a succession of strong rulers more than this newly founded state, yet only a quarter of a century old and set up laboriously and perilously amid powerful neighbours who were sworn to the death against it. William I. has come down to history as "the Bad," yet it is doubtful if the title is well-deserved. Personally the fourth son and the successor of Roger II. was no weakling. He was, says Romuald of Salerno, beautiful of form and noble of mien, proud and desirous of glory, like his father more dreaded than loved. He was a good soldier at need, a great smiter with the sword, and of remarkable physical strength. But he was by nature indolent, averse from politics, inclined even more than his father to the semi-Moslem court life of Palermo, loving amid the

almond groves of La Zisa to discuss literary and philosophical questions with learned Greeks and Moslems. The name "Bad" has been fastened upon him by Falcandus, the advocate of the baronial party, which now after fifteen years of submission again began to endanger the State with their claims and their factions. For William, devoid of the political instinct, allowed, as Roger had never allowed, an all-powerful First Minister to rise to the head of affairs and the direction of the Chancellery, and in Maio of Bari, Chancellor and finally "Grand Emir of Emirs," the infuriated barons saw that most detestable of figures to a feudal aristocracy, a minister of plebeian origin excluding them from office, using the middle classes against them, basing his power on the official party, Latin, Greek, and Moslem, and maintaining skilfully the balance of power among the creeds and races of Southern Italy.

Maio's tenure of power ran to the 10th of November, 1160, when, after several plots to murder him and depose the hated King had failed, the Chancellor fell by the daggers of noble assassins in front of the archiepiscopal palace of Palermo.

The work of the Emir of Emirs had not been in vain. On the one hand he had suffered the African Empire to be lost to the Almohades (February, 1156-January, 1160), representing to the King that it was imperative to turn the whole forces of the kingdom against the ever-threatening and now

traditional alliance of the Empires of East and West, the native barons, and the Papacy.

For the old danger threatened the infant kingdom. Hadrian IV., refusing to acknowledge William, at last put him to the ban, Frederick I. and Manuel prepared to overwhelm their hereditary foe, and the Apulian barons rose again as in 1128 and 1135, being joined now by the barons of Sicily. At this crisis William showed himself no unworthy scion of the Norman conquerors. In the autumn of 1155 the Byzantines invaded Apulia and conquered a long stretch of coast from Brindisi to Bari, which again became a Greek town. But William overran the mainland, and on the 28th of May, 1156, at Brindisi, destroyed the army and navy of the Greeks. Their conquests vanished like a dream, and William's vengeance turned Bari for the time into a heap of stones. On the other hand, the diplomatic service of the kingdom showed itself under Maio capable of as great triumphs as it had ever won, and to the Chancellor must be given the main credit of the treaty of Benevento (June, 1156) by which Hadrian abandoned both the Empire and the rebel barons, recognised William, and brought the long ecclesiastical struggle to a close by a great Concordat. The Western Empire was again baffled, and with a thirty years' peace between Sicily and the Basileus the period of Greek aggression passed away.

Yet the barons were not satisfied with the



WILLIAM I'S PALACE OF LA ZISA, PALERMO (12TH CENTURY)

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death of Maio in 1160. On the 9th of March, 1161, noble conspirators, led by scions of the royal house, Simon, Prince of Taranto, bastard of Roger II., and Tancred of Lecce, bastard of Duke Roger, entered the palace, and for a time William was held a prisoner and his fate was doubtful, until the bishops roused the populace and freed the King. The army and navy were also for the King. The nobles were united by feudal grievances such as the law which forbade daughters of Crown vassals to be given in marriage without the royal consent; they represented the feudal and Catholic spirit at variance with the officialdom and the non-Latin elements, and had the support of many of the Lombard towns whose forces they led to massacres of the Arabic villagers and townsmen.

William, however, suppressed the Sicilian insurgents, subdued the barons of the mainland, and returned in triumph to Palermo, in April, 1162. For the rest of his reign there was peace; subordinate officials—for no fresh emir of emirs or chancellor was chosen—carried on the government quietly; and William devoted himself to the luxurious life of his palaces, the building of La Zisa, and the beautifying of the Cappella Palatina.

He was followed by his son William II., called by contrast "the Good," whose reign fills the years 1166–1189. A minor of thirteen years at his accession, he did not actually reign till 1171.

His mother, Marguerite of Navarre, acted as Regent, and had to deal with a most difficult situation, for, though actual armed revolts had ceased, palace plots still agitated Palermo, the official class was pitted against an ecclesiastical party, the nobles still aimed at subjecting the government to their influence, and the tension between Moslems and Christians was still felt. An experiment was tried—a favourite but a dangerous device in troubled kingdoms—a foreigner belonging to no party was called in, and the Queen-Mother's cousin Stephen of Perche was created Chancellor and Archbishop of Palermo (November, 1166—summer of 1168). The Chancellor was able and of a progressive spirit; he so purified the local government that, says Falcandus, "he became to the people an angel sent by God to bring back the Age of Gold." Yet so far from reconciling parties he could scarcely find a party to support him. The nobles, the official classes, and the Moslems all opposed him. A common anti-foreign spirit now animated the discordant parties in the kingdom. The Queen-Mother was hated as "the Spanish woman," and the French whom Stephen had brought with him and installed in rich fiefs drove the Greeks of the towns and the Lombards of the communes into revolt by attempts to impose the severe feudal exactions of North France. This ruined Stephen, and there was a Sicilian "Vespers" on a small scale in Messina, where all the French were massacred.

Like Maio before him, the Chancellor had to be sacrificed to party and Stephen at last (summer, 1168) departed for the Holy Land, renouncing his office and his see.

Again for the rest of the Regency there were no chancellors but only a vice-chancellor, the Notary Matthew of Ajello, a typical bureaucrat. Walter Ophamil, Archbishop of Palermo, was included in a Council of Ten which directed the government, and which was successful in eliminating the noble class out of the inner circle of administration.

William II. commenced to reign alone in 1171. The character of this last of the legitimate Hautevilles is an enigma—a recluse seldom appearing in public, never seen at the head of armies, devoted to Palermo, surrounded in his summer palaces by eunuchs, concubines, and negro guards, familiar with Arabic speech and learning, the builder of Monreale and La Cuba—he yet gives the impression of a great personality; he revives Roger's policy of conquest, he restores the kingdom, and directs from the seclusion of his seraglio a wide-reaching and highly-successful diplomacy. He is "William the Good," a King whom all classes revere and love; to the historian Romuald he is "*justitiæ et æquitatis amator*," to Dante he is in tradition numbered among the just men of the world¹; to Arab travellers like Ibn-Jubair he is

¹"E quel che vedi nell' arco declivo
Guglielmo fu, cui quella terra plora
Che piange Carlo e Federico vivo.

the very spirit of kingly generosity and tolerance. His leading place among the princes of Europe is shown by his marriage in 1177 with Joan, daughter of Henry II., which allied the Norman dynasty of Palermo with the Norman-Angevin dynasty of England. But the pathos of a dynasty doomed to extinction surrounds this prince, and annuls all his achievements.

It is with William II. that the feud between the Western Empire and the Normans of Southern Italy, now more than a century old, reaches a decisive stage. To Frederick Barbarossa, the Hauteville kingdom was as much illegitimate and an outlaw, as it had been to Lothar and Conrad. A greater man than either, he might have attained an object which was dear to him and have overthrown the Norman power, which indeed was only part of his general ambition to subject Italy from the Alps to Taranto once more to the Empire. But the Papacy, an essential ally, was not with him as it had been with Lothar. Before he had been long on the throne, he was at war with the Holy See, he was pledged to the cause of an imperialist anti-pope, he was bent upon beating the resistance of Milan and her confederate cities to the ground. At war with the Empire, ousted by the Roman commune

"Ora conosce come s'innamora
Lo ciel del giusto rege, ed al sembiante
Del suo fulgore il fa vedere ancora."

Paradiso, xx., 66.

from its very capital, the Papacy found it necessary to turn again to the Normans, and that *entente* now long suspended, of Hauteville and St. Peter, which had made the fortunes of Guiscard and Richard, was once more revived. In the summer of 1167, Alexander III. in his refuge at Benevento is found guarded by Norman troops, and Sicily becomes the bulwark of the exiled Papacy. In another direction, the course of events ran in favour of the Norman kingdom. The long struggle with the Lombard League paralysed Barbarossa's sword arm; in the twenty years' war between the Empire and the confederate cities the resistance of the latter was sustained both by Papal letters and Sicilian gold. After the long struggle had staved off through many decisive years the blow which Frederick would surely have dealt against the Norman power, his overthrow at the hands of the City League on the field of Legnano in 1176 saved the Regno. At the Peace of Venice, in 1177, Frederick concluded terms with the Pope, Sicily, and the Lombards. Sicilian ships carried the Pope to the city of the lagoons, and William obtained a fifteen years' peace from the Holy Roman Empire.

The great feud of Norman and German, however, was not to be settled merely by a truce. To make the reconciliation permanent, William offered the hand of his aunt Constance, last born child of Roger II., to Henry, King of the Romans, son of Frederick I. The two were married in January,

1186, at Milan; before Constance departed for the north, William exacted from his vassals an oath that they would recognise her as heiress of Sicily, should he himself die without children.

Thus, by a most amazing piece of policy, William II. willed away the Norman kingdom. Childless as he was, he gave away by a stroke of the pen all that Norman swords had conquered and Norman genius had organised. The results were to be momentous. Meanwhile the ancient and perilous feud was ended, and a "happy marriage" had reconciled empire and kingdom. William unmolested turned to that policy of conquest and diplomacy which was dear to him.

The African empire of his grandfather he could not recover, for the power of the Almohades was too great to provoke. But he took up again the ancient design upon Constantinople, turned his eyes toward the Holy Land, and appeared as protector and champion of the Christian states of the East. With Amalric of Jerusalem he came to an understanding by which they should make a joint attack on Egypt, which under Saladin fatally threatened the Latin kingdom. On his side, William despatched in July, 1174, an armament of two hundred ships and men estimated at fifty thousand against Alexandria. But the key of Egypt was not to be easily taken, and while Saladin hurried up the garrison drove the Sicilians in disorder to their ships.

Baffled here, William turned against Constan-

tinople. The last great Comnenus was gone with Manuel (1180); the pretenders who asserted their right to the throne gave William the chance to act Guiscard over again, and a pseudo-Alexis Comnenus was received as the true Basileus in Palermo. The flotilla which the King of Sicily despatched against the Emperor Andronicus in June, 1185,—a hundred years after Guiscard's death on Greek soil,—might be deemed sufficient to overthrow the ancient Empire. But after an army calculated at eighty thousand men and a fleet of two to three hundred ships had taken Thessalonica, second city of the Empire, and then converged on Constantinople, the armies of the new Basileus Isaac Angelus decisively overthrew the Sicilians on the Strymon (7th September, 1185).

Twice foiled, William saw in the Crusade which followed on Saladin's capture of Jerusalem and subjection of almost all Syria and Palestine (1185–1187) an opportunity in which the kingdom of Sicily might lead Europe in arms. Here his policy differs from that of Roger II.; William, had he lived, would have sent his admirals and commanders to face Saladin on the very soil of Palestine and led or preceded the kings of the West in a great crusade. Margaritus, an admiral worthy of the best days of the Sicilian navy, with a flotilla of sixty ships, cleared the seas between Sicily and the Holy Land, checked Saladin at Tripoli in 1188, and made his name resound in all the

West for his skill and audacity. But at the very moment when Fortune promised so much to his great conceptions William the Good passed away.

With him ended the true Norman dynasty. A remarkable sterility is to be noted in every generation of the Hautevilles; it played a decisive part for good and evil through all their records; it made their fortunes and it ruined them; and now it was the cause of the sceptre passing away to an alien prince. The extinction of the ducal line of Apulia in Guiscard's grandson William gave Roger, himself the only surviving son of Roger, first Count of Sicily, the happy opportunity to unite Sicily and the mainland. He again out of five sons left only one to succeed him. Of William I.'s two sons only one grew to manhood, and now with him the direct legitimate line expired. Even in Antioch the story was the same—the direct male line of Bohemund came to an end with Bohemund II.

Very different in character from Roger II. and in many respects inferior, the two Williams had maintained worthily the inheritance of power which he handed on to them. The Constitution develops steadily, the royal power remains practically unshaken. The Papacy had failed to impose its own terms on the monarchy, and the long duel with the Emperors of East and West left the Sicilian kingdom a dangerous enemy to one and an honourable ally of the other. Above all, the balance of creeds and races had been

maintained: here and there the baronial insurgents, the mobs of Palermo, the Latin Christians of the Sicilian communes had despoiled or expelled the Saracens; but as long as the royal supremacy maintained itself the older races of Sicily had little permanent harm to fear. The blended art and civilisation of the kingdom remain under Roger's two successors as splendid and varied as before; William II.'s cathedral of Monreale, La Cuba and La Zisa, summer palaces of himself and his father, show the same mingled styles of Arab, Greek, and Latin as do the churches and palaces of the first Hauteville king.

The death of the childless William II. revealed in their intensest form the many dangers which had always threatened the kingdom, in uniting with them the usual perils of a disputed succession. Tancred of Lecce, illegitimate son of Duke Roger, was crowned King (January, 1190) by a patriotic party led by Matthew of Ajello, who was supported by the bureaucracy and the gallant and devoted Margaritus. Tancred was a brave and capable man but he was advanced in age, a fact which counted for much in the difficult position in which he found himself. A second party led by Walter, Archbishop of Palermo, backed by the mass of the nobles, inclined to submit to Henry, now co-heir with Constance, in order to avert foreign invasion and civil war. The Apulian barons played their usual intransigent part and, though it could not be made a severe reproach

to them that they would not support Tancred, showed a lamentable eagerness to welcome the foreign claimant. The Papacy, so long and skilfully held at arm's-length by the Hauteville kings, was bound to intervene. The marriage of Henry and Constance had been a diplomatic defeat for the Curia which had so long resisted the interference of the Empire in the peninsula and now saw with dismay the possibility of Germany and Italy being united in a single hand. Rome was therefore disposed to accept Tancred, but only at a price which Roger II. would never have paid. Unfortunately also for the new King the Papal office had passed since the death of Alexander III. to a succession of short-lived and feeble Popes, and on the other hand Henry VI. was a prince of irresistible skill and energy, with a determination which did not shrink from any scruples of humanity or equity. In a short time he had won over Pisa, Genoa, and the Roman commune to his side, had intimidated the Papacy, and completely isolated Tancred. The fatal blow was deferred for some years through the vigour of Margaritus, the loyalty of Naples, and the troubles in Germany.

In June, 1192, Tancred secured the alliance of the Papacy by a concordat at Gravina by which he abandoned the hereditary Legateship, and Rome legitimised the title of the last Norman King of Sicily. But at the very moment when everything hung upon his energy and courage

Tancred died (February, 1194), a few days after his son and co-king Roger III. Every barrier was thus removed from Henry's path, and the *finis* of the Hautevilles was written when on November 20, 1194, the Emperor entered Palermo. Queen Sibylla, William III., Tancred's second son, Margaritus, and the last defenders of the native monarchy fell into the hands of the Swabian and disappeared from history into German or Italian prisons. Thus, after sixty years, passed away the Norman kingdom of Southern Italy, founded by the genius of Guiscard and Richard and Roger.

Yet after some years of vicissitude and transformation the kingdom was destined to an even more glorious re-birth in Frederick, the second Emperor of that name, son of Henry and Constance, in whose long reign, 1198-1250, it seemed as if the days of Roger II. had returned in manifold glory and power. In that interval the essential and unique institutions of the Regno seemed to have suffered a hopeless overthrow. Under Henry VI. and later, the Moslems of Sicily, left without a protector against Christian bigotry and feudal savagery, were largely expelled from the towns and villages and were driven or forced into a semi-brigandage in the hills. In Sicily the Greek and Arab elements faded before the Latin. In Italy the faithless barons of Apulia and Campania who could not rally to the last of the Hautevilles and yet hated with a deadly hate the foreigners

of every creed found themselves to their dismay and fury ousted from command and domineered by a swarm of German adventurers whom Henry planted over all Italy and who after his death still clung, like the condottieri of later times, to their fiefs in Spoleto, Tuscany, Apulia, Sicily.

It was Innocent III. (1198-1216), a Pope worthy to rank beside Gregory VII. in the history of the Papacy, who saved the Norman kingdom from its darkest forebodings, and the Holy See, suzerain of Southern Italy since 1059, acted like a loyal guardian to its ward of Sicily. The German freebooters were after four years wiped out by French and Italian commanders whom Innocent called into the lists, and the throne of the south which Frederick, "the Child of Apulia," had ascended in May, 1198, loyally secured for him by the Pope, was thus safeguarded through the years of his infancy. The great Pope further gained for Frederick the Empire which had been held before him by his grandfather and father, Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI., and the young prince received at Aix-la-Chapelle in July, 1215, the votes of the German princes in the kingdom and in November, 1220, at Rome the crown of the Empire from Honorius III.

It is not possible here to touch on any but one aspect of Frederick's reign as Emperor-King. The most brilliant and fascinating of early mediæval princes, if a unique personality, a devour-



THE MOSAIC IN MONREALE CATHEDRAL, NEAR PALERMO, REPRESENTING THE
CORONATION OF WILLIAM II

PHOTO BY BROGI

ing energy, a mind like a treasure-house of intellect and fancy, an imagination glowing with the majesty and antiquity of his office, with the pride of Empire and the prestige of two great dynasties, Norman and Swabian, behind him, could have ruled successfully and at once Southern Italy with its tradition of central monarchy, Northern Italy with its free communes, and Germany with its independent princes, he might have achieved the task. But it was too great even for him and the devoted servants that he had. Better for him indeed had he never attained to the perilous inheritance of the Empire, better when once Emperor if he had never sworn, as at Strasburg in 1216, to give Sicily to his son; for the Papacy, an invincible antagonist, redeeming its initial mistake in allowing Empire and Sicily to be united, was bent on separating the two. His determination to keep Europe in a single, and that a powerful, hand from Rügen to Taranto, his proud resolution never to stoop one inch to the Holy See, his long attempts to crush the Lombard City-Leagues—the vain hope of his grandfather—led him into a war with the greatest office in the West save his own, and ruined both himself and his dynasty. As with Napoleon, this great genius might have produced more lasting results had it operated upon a narrower field. His energies undissipated, his attention circumscribed, Southern Italy might never have lost what was in effect a native dynasty, a true heir to

the Hautevilles, and the most brilliant royal race of mediæval history. But to be yoked with Germany was fatal to the Sicilian kingdom; it was even more disastrous to be incorporated with the Empire than to be its foe.

Here we can only sketch Frederick II.'s policy in his native kingdom of Sicily, for here he truly continues and on an ampler scale the work of Roger II. and the Hautevilles. He had to rebuild a noble but ruined fabric of royal power. In the interregnum the nobles had recovered authority and found fresh confidence. The towns had profited by the civil wars and the suspension of strong government and won privileges and exemptions unknown under the Norman kingdom; this was also the case with many abbeys. Frederick himself in his earlier reign had found it politic to grant many privileges and exemptions; thus in 1215 Caltagirone in Sicily was excused a hundred of the two hundred and fifty sailors whom since Roger I. it had been obliged to provide to the Navy. The balance of power among the several races, sedulously maintained by the Hautevilles, was now broken and irreparably; the mass of the Arabic populations were living in revolt and defiance among the mountains of Sicily.

The restoration of power was accomplished by actual legislation and by the pressure of a government which for forty years was directed by statesmen and officials of high character and capacity such as Roffrid of Benevento, Thaddeus

of Suessa, and Peter delle Vigne, the latter a Capuan of humble birth and a poor student of Bologna whose rise to high office and sudden fall form a story like that of Wolsey.

The Law-book of Frederick, the "Constitutions of the Realm of Sicily," was the work of this constitutional lawyer; published at Melfi in 1231 it proclaimed, as the Assises of Ariano proclaimed, the principles by which the King intended to govern. The Constitutions are the declaration of an Abolutism unknown to the West since the days of the Roman Empire—Cæsar is to be the one source and guardian of law, all statutes and customs adverse to the new Constitutions are to be quashed—the laws and edicts of the Norman kings the predecessors of Frederick are revived in full force and crowned with an Absolutism greater even than theirs.

In a long reign which showed no intermission of energy unto its close Frederick II. and his ministers followed the path indicated for them by the genius of the Hautevilles in the destruction of local privilege, in the construction of an all-dominating absolutism before which all should be equal and equally subject, in a policy of eclecticism, which, choosing the best of the racial and social elements of the kingdom, should combine them into a system enlightened, powerful, and tolerant. Frederick's success was completer than Roger the Second's as his means and his opportunities were greater. The nobles were the ancient

foe, the standing enemies of the Crown and the source of its ultimate downfall. For thirty years at least they had to bow their necks to the yoke. They were deprived of criminal jurisdiction, forbidden to carry on private war on pain of capital penalties, such privileges as they had obtained since the death of William II. were carefully scrutinised, they were forbidden to carry weapons or erect castles, all but the highest feudatories were brought under the jurisdiction of the Master Justiciars, whose office no prelate, count, baron, or knight might exercise. The strong hand was also fastened upon the Church; a mortmain act checked the acquisition of vassal-lands by ecclesiastics, the Church courts were forbidden to exercise jurisdiction over laymen, the property of vacant sees was put into the hands of royal baillis. The cities and towns of the kingdom had during the interregnum recovered powers which they had not enjoyed since the days of the Apulian dukes, and Frederick himself had thought it politic early in his reign to grant privileges to several of them. But at Melfi in 1231 another note was sounded: henceforth no town might set up podesta, rector, or consul on pain of being laid waste. Naples, Amalfi, Salerno were henceforth to have no judges save the King's judges, Gaëta lost her consuls, the royal policy strove to bring all law-appeals from the towns to the Curia. The *boni homines* who survived in the communes of Southern Italy were now chosen



by the King or local noble, these town-councils were presided over by the royal bailli. A foe of the communes, Frederick was yet a friend of the lower orders; personal slavery was forbidden on the royal domains, the lords were forbidden to ill-treat the peasants, and an edict forbade the cattle of the poor to be seized for debt.

The Constitution of the kingdom under Frederick is that of which the foundations were long since laid by the Norman conquerors. It is a natural expansion of the work of Roger II. and his immediate successors, only the royal power is made yet more apparent in it. The all-prominent figure in the government of the realm is now that of the Grand Justiciar, the "Mirror of Justice"; these officials, aided by judges of the Imperial Court or *Magna Curia*, sitting for the mainland at Capua, supervise all justice and control the under-justiciars; at certain periods they go on assise throughout the kingdom; paid by the treasury and drawn from the middle classes, they represent the very spirit of the anti-feudal and anti-communal administration.

Along with them or under them there continue to exercise their office the justiciars, the *camerarii*, the baillis of former reigns, while in the court the Grand Admiral, the Marshal, the Logothete stand close to the Crown. The government, national and local, becomes more and more scientific and modern in aspect, the great mass of

the local officials and judges receive their stipends from the state treasury.

The characteristic and unique side of the Hauteville government, its exchequer system, lost none of its energy and efficiency under Roger II.'s grandson. The finances of the kingdom were controlled by a *Magna Curia Rationum*. A great revenue flowed in from import and export dues, from the royal forests and lands, from the monopolies of silk, iron, copper, salt, from feudal dues, from commuted naval and military burdens. It flowed back into the salaries of officials, the upkeep of royal palaces, the encouragement of arts and science, the maintenance of the Sicilian navy, which latter had not only imposed on it the defence of the realm but also the protection of trade. The naval armament was indeed worthy of the long traditions of Norman Italy; Messina, Amalfi, Salerno, Naples, and Brindisi had dockyards; the treasury mainly financed this great arm of the royal service, and the fleet of Sicily contained ten of the greatest ships then known, one of the galleys being capable of holding a crew of one thousand.

More centralised and Napoleonic than Roger's kingdom, the government of his grandson yet made a hesitating advance towards a national representation. In 1232 and 1240 Frederick II. summoned the deputies of forty-seven towns on the imperial demesnes to an assembly "for the weal of the Regno and the general advantage of

the State." These met at Foggia but merely assented to the sums of money demanded by the Emperor and regulated the raising of them. Again in 1234 Frederick directed four deputies from every great city, two from every smaller town, one from every castle, to come together twice yearly in May and November in five separate places of assembly, there to meet barons and prelates and to bring, in the presence of a special imperial envoy, whatever complaints they might have against officials of the Crown. The imperial object was "to ensure to every man his right": in effect there was no legislation at these provincial assemblies, and scarcely even the seeds of a National Parliament were sown.

The lineaments of the greatest of mediæval Emperors are those of his Sicilian grandfather Roger II. But Frederick is the Norman of a later and more spacious age, the child of a more refined generation and born to a century in which the march of civilisation and intellectual freedom becomes suddenly accelerated. The age of Roger, in spite of gleams of light and splendour which fall on Spain and Sicily and radiate still from Byzantium, is yet waiting expectant in the early dawn of a new civilisation, its towns few and still struggling for freedom, its mind bound in theological fetters, almost all its best intellects obsessed by Cluniac Puritanism, its voices in prose and poetry few, timid, and conventional, its national institutions still cased in feudal iron.

With Frederick II. has come a century momentous in the history of the Rebirth of Intellect, which makes a giant-stride after eight centuries have stood still or only feebly moved onwards. It is the full dawn of the Renaissance of mediæval Europe; the light grows clear and reveals the world as it is; a spirit of joy, of freedom, of the delight of life, of intellectual and personal daring traverses rapidly all the kingdoms of Europe, a spirit too self-assured and too far-spread to be thrust back again by either the menace of the theologians of the brutal vigour of feudal Crusaders. In a century which heard the Troubadours and the Minnesingers in full song, which saw the triumph of free towns everywhere in Europe, the union of France under her great kings, the beginnings of National Parliaments in England, the rise of vernacular literature, the revolt of the lay mind—which began with the brilliant heterodox civilisation of Toulouse and ended with the *Divina Commedia*—there is the place of Frederick II., a genius so versatile as to be even to that age “the wonder of the world.” Roger’s acute mind could only divert itself with the half-science and practical questions of his age; such intellectual pursuits as he had were only possible because Sicily was not Latin but predominantly Greek and Arab in civilisation. Poetry had yet scarcely spoken. A few incomplete and uninspired historians, clerics for the most part and wielding a dead language, wrote the great King’s

history with little better than the pens of annalists, and have left his figure shadowy, his mind only half-revealed. The great Emperor, his grandson, is handed down to us, impressive, living, and human, in the vigorous and witty autobiography of the friar Salimbene, a real child of the new age; the distance between an Alexander of Telese and a Salimbene—that is the measure of the distance between the historic Roger and the historic Frederick.

Little as the historians have revealed the figure or told the achievements of the great Norman King, we may yet see a remarkable likeness and a parallel between Roger and his grandson, in many fields of government and private life. Roger “did justice even against his own son.” Frederick was called *Lex incarnata in terris*. A case is given against him in the High Court of the Realm. Yet he knows how to combine law and humanity: “we water the domain of Justice with the streams of Mercy”; in this spirit he alleviates the severity of many Norman enactments. Again in the Edict of 1239, “Justice is the foundation of Faith without which nothing can be built up. By this law we condemn to death those judges who have given unjust sentences from any motive.”

As Roger by his “ducats” displaces the current local moneys of South Italy, so his grandson affirms the fact of monarchy by the issue of golden *Augustales*, but the beauty and design of

Frederick's coinage, struck by Nicholas of Pisa, shows how long a way Art had come since the rude mintage of Norman times.

Again in the question of toleration, in the balancing of creeds under state protection, Frederick shows himself the heir of Roger. The Jews and Saracens of the kingdom enjoyed full toleration under him. The Greek abbeys continued to govern themselves unmolested, and if there was a steady falling away of the Orthodox population into the Latin Church, it was not for any pressure from the state. The Emperor declared publicly that he never at any time held the Greeks for heretics as the Popes did. Towards the native Moslems Frederick showed a similar policy to that of the first counts of Sicily; he conciliated the Saracens who had taken to the hills; yet the question could only be settled, so it appeared, by the transport of twenty thousand fighting men of the race to Lucera in Apulia, where at the end of the reign a great Moslem community of townsmen and warriors devoted to the imperial standards seemed to have taken firm root. As for the outer Moslems, Frederick showed no scruples in allying himself with such a ruler as Abu-Isaak, King of Tunis, and making it a clause in the treaty that the island of Pantelleria should be governed by a Moslem deputy nominated at Palermo. To heretics, indeed, Frederick showed no mercy, and he, who at last became in the eyes of Rome the Arch-heretic, de-



PAVILION ATTACHED TO WILLIAM II'S PALACE OF LA CUBA, PALERMO

PHOTO BY ALINARI

clared Christian dissenters guilty of *læsa majestas*.

Well served as Roger was, never had he more devoted and skilful servants than those who surrounded his grandson,—Thaddeus of Suessa, Peter delle Vigne who “held the two keys of his master’s heart,” the noble Richard Filangieri, Marshal and founder of a distinguished and historic family, the Grand Admiral Nicholas Spinola, and the fascinating figures of Enzo and Manfred, bastards of the Emperor. Both the Norman and his grandson were great builders; the dynasty had a love for beautiful places, and Frederick’s great palace at Foggia, Castel del Uovo in Naples, his hunting-lodge at Castel del Monte, and his palace at Capua, built by the Pisan Nicholas, are sisters, in the history of Hauteville and Hohenstaufen, of Terracina, La Favara, the Palazzo Reale, and La Cuba. Again out of their revenues the two princes showed themselves generous patrons of learning. Roger II. granted a monopoly to Salerno which gave its ancient school of medicine almost the character of a university, and the status of physicians is the subject of one of the Royal Assises. Frederick founded by direct Royal Act in 1224 the University of Naples. He decreed that no one might lecture on medicine except at Naples and Salerno, and forbade physicians to practise unless they had previously studied logic for three years and medicine and surgery for five.

Only in Frederick’s wide mental outlook, in

his intellectual vivacity and energy, in his audacity and wit, in his own skill as a poet do we find how great a gulf divides him from his Norman grandfather. But Roger is before the Troubadours and before Chrétien of Troyes; whatever songs of Charlemagne and William of Orange were sung in his hall, there was as yet no quick vernacular song to be heard in the southern kingdom. The Hauteville King's mind had all the vivacity and eagerness of his great grandson's in potentiality, but it had to content itself with the *Optica* of Eugenius and the travel-books of Edrisi. The Emperor was a thinker in an age of poets. A patron of the learned, he found many protégés where Roger found few. The Jew Antoli comes to Naples, translates some of Averroës's work for Frederick, and writes an eulogy on him. The same polyglot atmosphere fills the Emperor's palaces as did the King's. In Frederick's great library at Castel del Uovo were contained translations from the original of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy and Aristotle's *Natural History*. Master Jordan at court made Greek verses upon the beleaguering of Parma; Theodore, called "the Emperor's Philosopher," was familiar with Arabic. The famous mathematician Leonard of Pisa, who brought algebra to the Latin West, enjoyed Frederick's hospitality and dedicated his treatise on square numbers to him; Michael Scot was astrologer to the Emperor.

The grandson of Roger again was a Rationalist

who sought explanations of things in a light and scoffing spirit which concealed a natural distrust of authority, and whose later moods of cloudy mysticism were the result of inward broodings upon his own destiny. His correspondence with Ibn-Sabin, a Moslem savant of Ceuta,—the famous “*Sicilian questions*,”—are couched in a characteristic half-mocking, half-serious vein; one of the least irreverent of his questions which sought to find what truth there was in Islam is that which asks what becomes of the houris who reward the faithful in Paradise when they become old. Frederick was one of those whose temperament forbids them to believe: he had the spirit of “*a jesting Pilate*.” His gibes and epigrams are part of his art of government; thus he punishes the rebel people of Bari by having inscribed above their gates a Latin rhyme of his own which is to be a permanent memorial of their faithlessness. This polyglot genius, who spoke or understood Latin, Italian, German, French, Greek, and Arabic, was first and last an Italian patriot whose heart was in the sunny kingdom of the south, who wondered that God, who might have chosen Apulia for the Promised Land, should choose the sterile and burning plains of Palestine. He was a poet who made verses in the native Sicilian speech; he is to Dante “*one of the fathers of Italian song*,” the patron of a company of Troubadours who made Palermo a second capital of Romance poesy. The grandson of the chivalrous

and high-spirited Barbarossa no less than of the great Hauteville, the inheritor of two famous names, the child by descent of Burgundy and Germany no less than of France and Sicily, yet it is the figure and mind of Roger II. that Frederick seems to re-incarnate; a curious parallel seems to connect the Norman with the Swabian; and Roger's court at Palermo, part Moslem, part Greek, part French, is reproduced again in the Foggia or Naples of his grandson.

The death of Frederick II. as tragical as the overthrow of a Napoleon, yet did not rob the southern kingdom of the hope that a native dynasty and a native king might still hold their capital at Naples or Palermo. After some years the Emperor's illegitimate son Manfred, a spirit gallant and gay, became King of the south, while the infant Conradin, legitimate grandson of Frederick, grew up among his Hohenstaufen adherents in Germany.

In Manfred, "*bello e biondo*," a devoted child of the south, a prince of noble and lovable personality, a poet and friend of Troubadours, generous and tolerant, open to all humane influences of Arab and Greek and native civilisation, the long-vexed kingdom of Southern Italy might indulge the dream of a royal line which would perpetuate itself, which would renew the traditions of the Normans and the Swabians from which its descent was drawn. And for a time the Holy See, which had fought to the death against the

union of the Empire and Italy, was content to recognise a prince with whom that dangerous connection had expired. But darker and most lamentable counsels prevailed, and the Papacy which had sworn "to root out the race of vipers" declared war upon the Ghibelline King, the lord of Saracens, "the Sultan of Lucera," and summoned Charles of Anjou and Provence into the deadly lists. A crime like that which wiped out the heretical and romantic civilisation of Languedoc was once more perpetrated, and again the narrow and brutal feudalism of North France triumphed over an enlightened and native culture when, on the plain which the Calore washes by Benevento, Manfred fell in the press of battle. His fate, stabbed to death by French lancers, flung excommunicated and without the rites of the Church to lie exposed to sun and rain on the banks of the Rio Verde, is a tragedy that made even the stern and orthodox Dante glad to think that beyond the anathema of Pope and cardinals there is a Higher Justice which forgives.

This was in February, 1266. Two years after, Conradin made his fatal expedition, was overwhelmed at Tagliacozzo, betrayed and taken, and executed in his seventeenth year at Naples. No obstacle remained to the triumph of Charles and the new North French dynasty which he founded. It was the *finis* of both Hohenstaufen and Hauteville in Southern Italy; after two hundred years the two princely races which had rooted them-

selves in the soil and drawn all their inspiration from Sicily and Apulia vanished from the stage of history. Whatever may be said of them, there is no lack of great and appealing figures in this gallery of dukes and kings; the iron-handed, subtle-brained Guiscard is there, the born and tireless adventurer, the child of the temperate north, Roger, the maker of the kingdom, is near him, Frederick, the great Emperor, stands there in the full light of day, and the darkness falls on the last of the race, Conradin, from his scaffold at Naples throwing out his glove that it might be taken up by an avenger.

At Benevento the Apulian barons fled without striking a blow, and left Manfred to die almost alone among the spears of France. There, in the feudal lords that could not die for the land, is seen the true weakness of the marvellous structure of State which Guiscard founded and Roger built. From first to last the intransigent spirit of the mainland feudatories is the bane, and at last the fall of the kingdom. It is as if the descendants of the Norman freebooters could never forget that their first ancestors were the forerunners or equals of the Hautevilles, as if two hundred years failed to teach them how to be loyal, as if the southern sun and admixture with the older races had sapped even the courage and the iron out of the once-Norman blood. The barons are the malcontents of all this period, rebels to the monarchy, foes to the toleration

system which secured to every creed and every race protection and peace under the Crown. Anti-foreign as they surely were, they could not become patriots. Here then is the true judgment upon the Norman kingdom, a judgment passed by a distinguished historian of Greece upon the administration of the Byzantine Empire, "it was a Government and not a Nation." Roger II. and his successors could force on barons and towns a royal authority which might not be gainsaid, they could and did secure to four races, creeds, and tongues a protection and liberty almost unique in the West, they could build up a brilliant eclectic civilisation in the south, but they failed to make out of Norman barons, Lombard townsmen, Saracen traders, Greek peasants a nation which could act as one. In this indeed a happier destiny waited that country which also in the eleventh century was conquered by Norman adventurers; William the Conqueror and his race laid the foundations of a united nation in England; in Italy and Sicily Guiscard and his successors could only unite by royal authority and from above a land of many races which had no natural bond of affinity.

Yet it was a great achievement. Without the Norman conquest, without the organisation given by Hauteville dukes and Hauteville kings to Southern Italy, the peninsula south of Pescara and Garigliano would have weltered long in internal disunion and foreign domination; what-

ever solution could at last have been reached by Lombard dynasts and communal cities would have been long in coming. The Gaimars and Gisulfs might have evolved a central power, or Bari, Amalfi, Salerno, might have reproduced in the south that development of free cities which was the destiny of the northern peninsula, and Lower Italy might have preceded and accompanied Lombardy and Tuscany in their city-leagues, their consuls, their captains of the people, and at last their hereditary despots. These are speculations: the Norman rulers of the south at least brought their solution of the manifold problems which weighed on Lower Italy at the dawn of the eleventh century; they welded the land into apparent unity by the sword first and by law afterwards; they shook off the claims of external powers; they won Sicily from the Moslems and saved Apulia and Campania from Greek and German. They founded a kingdom which lasted till Garibaldi and Cavour achieved the unification of Italy. They solved the question which faced the Latins in the Holy Land and the Moslems in Spain, how to combine races and creeds in peace and liberty, with a success that no state of ancient or modern times has surpassed. They took into their service men of every tongue and faith, their glory was exalted in the work of artists of many races who built their palaces and churches, dedicated to them the fruits of learning, and sang their praises in many vernaculars. To the student



MOSAIC REPRESENTATION OF WILLIAM II OFFERING THE CATHEDRAL TO THE VIRGIN, MONREALE, NEAR PALERMO

PHOTO BY BROGI

of civilisation, the art and science of Palermo, of Bari, of Salerno, under their Norman suzerains must always remain a curious and inspiring subject.

In the forefront of history in the twelfth century stand Kings and Princes, few in number, but great in fame, to whom our civilisation owes much of the best of what it has, who broke the bonds of feudalism, who gave Justice and Peace, who taught the common subject that the Crown was able to protect and to avenge, who brought the old barbaric states out of the Dark Ages. Among the first of these figures, whose great names are the two Henrys of England and Philip Augustus of France, must ever stand Roger the Norman, second Count of Sicily, and first King of Naples and Sicily.



TARIS OF ROBERT GUISCARD,
PRINCE OF SALERNO

APPENDIX A

THE "SICILIAN MONARCHY" (*see Chap. II*)

THE vexed question as to the extent and nature of the powers conferred upon Roger I. and inherited by Roger II. and his successors has been best dealt with by E. Caspar (*Die Legatengewalt der normannisch-sicilischen Herrscher*, Rome, 1904).

The historic importance of the so-called "Sicilian monarchy" or royal privileges attached to the Crown of Sicily by the original grant of the Legateship in 1098 is very great, for it led to a *bellum diplomaticum* of eight centuries between the Sicilian kings and the Papacy which only ended when in 1867 Pius IX. abrogated the privileges conferred in the eleventh century by his Abolition Bull, following in that regard the decree of Clement XI. in 1715, who declared the monarchy void. The strongest champion of the Papal side in these centuries is Cardinal Baronius, who vindicated the claims of the Curia against Philip II. and Philip III., both in his *Annales Ecclesiastici* and a separate tract, *de Monarchia Siciliae* (1609).

An absolutely new light was thrown on the question when the historian Giesebrecht found in a Roman MS. the letter, discussed in our text, of Paschal II. to Roger II. (1st October, 1117), which is given by

Caspar (*Die Legatengewalt*, p. 200). This removed beyond possibility of revival the claim that the original Bull, the preservation of which we owe to Malaterra, was not authentic.¹ A modern champion of the Roman side, Sentis in *Die Monarchia Sicula* (Freiburg, 1869), however, minimises the power conferred by the Bull of 1098. His view is that it implied the sending of a Legate, which is supported by Paschal's words in 1117, *si quando ex latere nostro legatus dirigitur*, so that Roger I. is in effect not given the powers of a Legate but of the deputy of a Legate when the latter is sent (pp. 192, 193). During the presence of a Legate Roger has executive power and is commissioned to put his decrees into effect, aided by the bishops. The concession moreover only applied to Roger and his two sons, a view which Caspar declares untenable.

Caspar's reading of the somewhat difficult text of the letter of 1117 is given in our pages; the crucial words of this text—*legati vice*—are on the other hand interpreted by Sentis to mean a power to act not as Legate but as the deputy of a Legate.

Elsewhere (*Gründungsurkunden der sicilischen Bistümer u. die Kirchenpolitik Graf Rogers I.*, Innsbruck, 1902) Caspar maintains that Urban's Bull legitimised Roger I.'s exceptional position in Sicily as a protagonist of the Church against Greeks and Moslems. This is supported by a diploma given at Maida in Calabria, 6th May, 1098, which begins, Πouxέριος νόμος

¹ Chalandon (*La domination normande*. i., p. 366), shows, however, that the letter of 1117 was previously known to Italian historians. This does not however invalidate Herr Caspar's main argument, which is to explain the Bull of 1098 in the light of the document of 1117.

και λεγάτος Καλαβρίας και Σικελίας (in the signature) and in the body of the text speaks of ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν με παρὰ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πάπα Ῥώμης τοῦ λεγάτου ἀξιώματι και ἀξίαν ἐλευθερίαν τοῦ ελθεῖν εἰς πάντα τὰ μοναστήρια τῆς χώρας μου ἀπὸ τε ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ πάσης ἱεραρχικῆς καὶ ἀρχοντικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

The tenor of Paschal II.'s letter in 1117 is:

(1) That Roger should follow the good example of his father, that he should not attack the churches but aid them, nor judge and oppress bishops but honour them as God's vicars.

(2) The Bull of 1098 is mentioned—*unde antecessor meus patri tuo legati vicem . . . concessit*—but Paschal goes on further to indicate the possible sending of a Legate to Sicily.

(3) The actual grievances are summed up, viz., lay judgment of clerics and church lands and summoning bishops to synods: *porro episcoporum vocationes ad synodum quas unquam sibi legatus aut vicarius usurpavit quod aliquando singularibus aliquando pluralibus litteris per quoslibet solet nuncios fieri?*

On all these points the stubborn and unrepentant Roger fought against the Papacy all his life, especially against the claim to send Legates into Sicily, nay, he even extended his claims to the hereditary Legateship to cover Apulia and the rest of the kingdom. The Bull of Anacletus in September, 1130, confirmed by implication the grant of 1098, but Innocent II. at Mignano (1139) made no mention of the Legatine power. Finally the question was brought to a close at Benevento in 1156 when the natural solution was attained that while William II. was accorded considerable powers over the Church throughout the king-

dom, in the case of the hereditary lands of Sicily no Legate might be sent without express permission of the King.

Roger II., as we saw, appears in a Chrysobul and in the mosaic picture at La Martorana in the insignia of a Legate, and the Apostolic Legateship was retained by his successors. Tancred indeed, to whom the support of the Papacy was all-important in the life-and-death struggle with Henry VI., gave away by the Concordat of Gravina (May, 1192) the right to veto the sending of Legates into Sicily. But the hereditary Legateship was recovered by the subsequent dynasties, and in virtue of it Philip II. of Spain exercised the same powers over the Church in his kingdom of Sicily as his remote predecessor Roger II. had done, ordering to be burned the volume of Baroni-*us's Annales Ecclesiastici* which contested his hereditary claims.

APPENDIX B

OTHER AUTHORITIES FOR THE REIGN OF ROGER II. (see *Chap. VIII.*)

A. *Greek historians.* The *Alexiad* of Anna Comnena, though excellent for the wars of Guiscard and Bohemund with the Empire, scarcely touches upon Roger himself. John Cinnamus (fl. *circa* 1143-83) takes up her work and carries the history of the Greek Emperors to 1178; he describes in fuller detail than we possess elsewhere the relations of Roger with Constantinople, and the Norman attack on the Empire during the Second Crusade. Nicetas Choni-

ates, whose history covers the years 1118 to 1206, supplements Cinnamus (*Corp. script. hist. Byzant*).

B. *Latin authorities.* From the Papal and German side we may include among others the Lives of Popes (Watterich, *P. R. VV.*), and Otto of Freising. The historians of the earlier Norman period were laying down their pens at the time of Roger's birth. The "history of the Normans" of Amatus, a monk of Monte Cassino, which is almost worthy to be called the epic of the Norman conquest, finishes with the year 1078. The rhymed chronicle of William of Apulia, eulogist of the Hautevilles, written between 1085 and 1111, ends with the former date, and Geoffrey Malaterra, probably a Norman, who wrote at the request of the "Great Count of Sicily" his *Historia Sicula*, carries his work only to 1099.

In addition to the main Latin authorities, some local and fragmentary sources throw a certain light on Roger as Duke and King. At the end of the twelfth century a monk of the abbey of St. Clement in Casauria, in the farthest limit of the Regno, wrote at the request of his abbot Leonard a *Chronicon Casauriense*; it runs from 866 to 1182 but the writer has collected from contemporaries of earlier events the details of Roger's conquest of the Abruzzi and shows us vividly the hatred felt by the natives for the Norman conquerors. Among the scanty annals of Benevento, Monte Cassino, and La Cava, the latter, running from 569 to 1135 A.D., have some significance for the King's reign as the current events are noted, as they occur, upon the MS. of Bede, which contains the whole of these annals. For all these sources it is enough to say here that they are

to be found in various volumes of Muratori, R. I. SS. and the M. G. H. SS. For critical treatment see Capasso, *Fonti della storia delle provincie napoletane*, 568-1500 (Naples, 1902), Chalandon, *op. cit.*, vol. i., xxvii, *seq.*, and Balzani, *Early Chroniclers of Europe*.

C. *Arab authorities.* From the Arab side the geographer Edrisi (1099-1180) gives us some hints as to the position of the Moslems under Roger and the King's character as he appeared to a Moslem scholar. The traveller Ibn-Jubair, born at Valencia, 1143, the historian of the Atabegs, Ibn-el-Athir, born in the Tigris regions in 1160, Imad-ed-dîn, the biographer of Saladin (ed. Landberg, 1888), Ibn-Khaldoun, and others though not strictly contemporary with Roger, supplement what we know of his Moslem policy by the fragments of yet fresh tradition which they collected. William of Tyre, a link between the Latins and Moslems, versed in both Latin and Arabic, describes the relations of Sicily with Jerusalem and Antioch (*Recueil, historiens occidentaux*, i.). The Moslem authorities are to be found in Amari's *B. A. S.* and *S. D. M.*, and in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades (historiens orientaux)*.

D. *Ecclesiastical archives, etc.* In addition to such scanty Annals as those of La Cava and Ceccano, the archives of the great abbeys are of great value, and though much work has been done upon them, much remains to be done. We may mention here the *Codex diplomaticus Cavensis* and Mgr. Battifol's *l'Archive du St. Sauveur de Messine (Revue des questions historiques*, t. xlii. 1887) and his *Abbaye de Rossano*, Paris, 1891; the latter two are valuable for the

question of Roger's relations with the Greek abbeys of his realm. Theiner also of course is available for the Papal side. The *Codice diplomatico barese*, in several volumes, contains the records of the great churches of Bari and surrounding towns.

E. *Feudal tenures*. Much light is thrown on the enfeoffment of Southern Italy by the Norman rulers and the numbers of feudal tenants on the mainland by the very valuable *Catalogus baronum neapolitano in regno versantium* drawn up under William II. (Del Rè, *Scrittori . . . napoletani*, ii.)

F. *The towns*. We owe a mass of published municipal documents to the patriotic zeal of local archæological bodies in Southern Italy, as well as of individual historians. Thus the most valuable *Codice diplomatico barese* (Bari, 1897-1902) has been published by the *Commissione provinciale di archæologia e storia patria* of Bari; its six volumes cover several of the Apulian towns besides Bari. A similar example is that of the *Codex diplomaticus Gaietanus*. The *Documenti e monografie per la storia della Terra di Bari* contain in several volumes the customs (*consuetudini*) of Bari, Monopoli, and other Apulian communes of this period. The mediæval records of the city of Trani are to be found in *Le Carte della Città di Trani*, ed. Prologo (Barletta, 1877). The *Consuetudines* of Amalfi are treated of by Racioppi in *Arch. stor. nap.*, 1880. Of Sicily we possess the *Antiche Consuetudini delle città di Sicilia* (Palermo, 1900), ed. La Mantia Vito, and several volumes relating to the various cities. For Italy, see also Battaglia (G.), *Diplomi inediti relativi all' ordinamento della proprietà fondiaria . . .* (*Doc. per servire*

alla Storea di Sicilia . . . la Società sicil. per la storia patria, Ser. I., diplomatica, t. xvi., Palermo, 1895.)

G. *State documents of the reign.* Trinchera, *Syllabus græcarum membranarum*, gives the Greek documents of the period. Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia*, has published with facsimiles the bilingual or trilingual documents relating to Sicily itself. Kehr (K. A.), in *Urkundender normannisch-sicilischen Könige* (Innsbruck, 1902), has collected most of the *diplomata* of the Norman kings.

H. *The "Assises" of Roger II.* Brandileone (F.) has published the two texts of the *Assisæ* in *Il diritto normanno nelle leggi normanne e sueve del regno de Sicilia* (Turin, 1884). See also his *Il diritto greco-romano nell' Italia meridionale . . .* (Arch. giuridico t. xxxvi., 1886) and *Frammenti di legislazione normanna e di giurisprudenza bizantina*. The Assises themselves were discovered by Merkel in MSS. at the Vatican and at Monte Cassino; see his *Commentatio qua iuris siculi sive Assisarum regum regni Siciliae fragmenta ex codicibus manuscriptis ponuntur* (Halle, 1856). The "Constitutions" of Frederick II. make allusions to the laws of Roger and the two Williams; see Winkelmann, *Acta Imp. ined.*, i., p. 605, *Const. regni Sic.*, i., p. 44, ed. Huillard-Bréholles, and *Hist. dipl. Frid.*, ii., t. iv., 1. For an isolated edict of Roger, see Capasso, *Novella di Ruggiero rè di Sicilia promulgata in greco . . .* (*atti dell' Acad. pontiniana*, t. ix.). The works of La Mantia and Perla are also of great authority on Roger's legislation. The influence of Byzantine, Lombard, and Roman law on his laws has been much debated; for a list of the advocates

on the various sides see Chalandon (*La domination normande*, i., p. xx.).

APPENDIX C

THE ORIGIN OF THE SICILIAN EXCHEQUER (*see Chap. IX*)

THE attempt to determine the origins of Roger II.'s Exchequer has led to much fascinating speculation. It cannot be said, however, that a wholly convincing case has been made out for any side, Byzantine, Moslem, or Norman, and it is inevitable that so conjectural a question should be largely forejudged according to the bias of the historian. Thus a whole school holds for a Norman-French origin; this was suggested first by Gregorio (*Considerazioni sopra la storia di Sicilia*, Palermo, 1831), who has been followed by Stubbs and Freeman, both of whom hold that the Exchequer system was imported from England to Sicily, Thomas Brown being the main instrument; these are supported by Sohm (*Fränkisches Recht u. Römisches Recht*) and Brünnek (*Siciliens mittelalterliche Stadtrechte*, 1881). On the other hand Amari (*S. D.M.*) advocates an Arabic origin and is supported by La Lumia (*La Sicilia sotto Guglielmo II. il buono*, 1867). The Byzantine origin, again, is strongly urged by Garufi in "*sull' ordinamento amministrativo normanno in Sicilia: Exhiquier o Diwan?*" (in *Arch. stor. ital.*, S.V., t. xxvii., p. 225 seq.), an article to which I am largely indebted. His views may be given here.

The Emperor Heraclius in dividing the Empire into Themes (θέματα) divided the Themes themselves

into ἐπαρχίαι. The Theme had three kinds of officials, the στρατήγος or fiscal commander, and the πράκτορες dependent on the λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ. In the organisation of the Themes Garufi sees the model of Roger's Fiscal Department. Whereas Amari holds that there was a single office for territorial grants called now *diwân al mamûr* and now *diwân al tahkik al mamûr*, Garufi holds that these are not the same though one is dependent on the other. In the *diwân al mamûr* are found the *katibs* or writers, and the *gais* who supervise the *hakims* who again look after the port dues and collect military tributes. The *Duana de Secretis* in a Latin document of 1286, which is a translation of one of 1175, is identified with the *duen tahki el mama—hoc est doana veritatis*: this, according to Amari, looked after territorial grants. The other *Duana* is the *Duana baronum* or in Greek σεκρετός τῶν ἀποκοπῶν; this then is the *diwân al mamûr*. Garufi considers then the *Duana de Secretis* and the *Duana baronum* as entirely distinct, the latter being purely feudal. We hear in 1149 of one Othman who is *Katib al diwân al mamûr*, i.e., writer or notary of the Treasury. We hear of an official called *sajh, sahib*, or σεμρετικὸς, who executes the orders of the κρατία κορτή. In the latter years of the Norman dynasty we hear of a prominent Moslem or Greek official who is now called Eugene Cali and now βουττάιπος, and again *Seher (Sajh) Bittayb* (? Abw-al-taib, an Arabic rendering of Eugene) who is finally placed over the whole financial administration and is called *magister duane baronum* or *magister duane de secretis* according as his acts are purely feudal or concerned with the royal domain.

To sum up, Garufi holds that there were two offices or departments, the Treasury or *diwân al mamûr*, and a second called the *μεγάλος σεχρετός* for collating and comparing receipts. The Treasury, whose *katibs*, *gaits*, and *secreti* superintend the officials who return the tributes, is under the supreme charge of a Treasurer who is the same as the Grand Camerarius of the Court.

On this department depends a *diwân al fawajd* which takes account of goods reverting to the Fisc by failure of heirs or confiscation. This corresponds to the *Ærarium* or *δημόσιον* of the Roman and Byzantine Emperors. The department called the *μεγάλος σεχρετός* controls all state dues, revenues from domain, and feudal dues. The *diwân al takkik al mamûr* looks after the *gabellæ* from land and sea, import duties, etc. The *Duana baronum* supervises feudal services, verifies titles, and keeps the lists of royal domains. The *μεγάλος σεχρετός* continues the office which in the Byzantine Empire after Heraclius was controlled by the Quæstor.

Garufi thus equates the Byzantine and Sicilian officers of the central administration:

- (1) The *katib* = *σκριβας*.
- (2) The *σεχρετικὸς* = the *ἐκσεπτωρ*.
- (3) The *magister dohanæ* = the Quæstor.

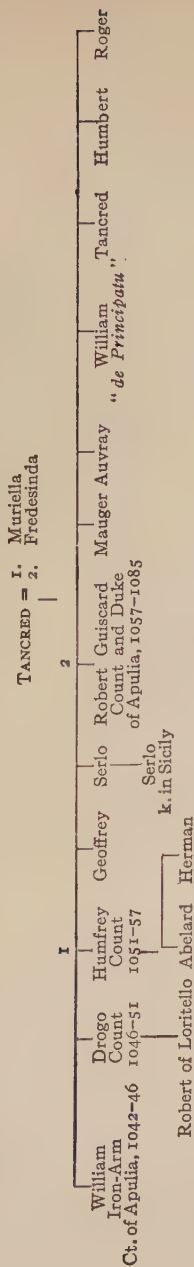
The domanial division of the *μεγάλος σεχρετός* continues the Moslem department which itself reproduces the department controlled by the Byzantine Quæstor. The feudal side represents the grafting of French public law on Moslem administration and, through that, on the Byzantine. The tribunal on which both depend is modelled on the Byzantine

δικαστήριόν of which the Quæstor is προκαθήμενος. A new feudal régime left its influences, but it is undeniable that the Normans of Sicily continued in its fundamental lines the administrative system of the Roman world modified by the influence of the Byzantine law after Heraclius (*"Vi é quindi influenza del diritto pubblico franco relativamente al nuovo regime feudale: ma è innegabile che i Normanni di Sicilia abbiano continuato nelle linee fondamentali il regime amministrativo del mondo romano modificato dall' influenza del diritto bizantino dopo Eraclio,"* p. 263).

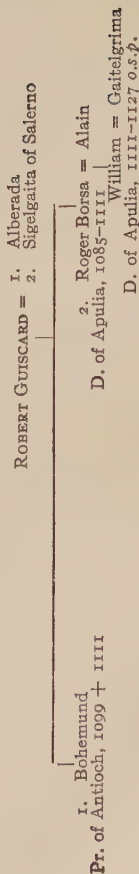
Chalandon (*La domination normande*, ii., p. 652 seq.) considers that there are scarcely sufficient grounds for Garufi's contention. One can, he says, admit that the registers containing limits of lands in Sicily called *deftarii* are a relic of the Moslem administration, just as the somewhat similar fiscal registers of ducal times called *Quaterniones*, which apply to Calabria and the mainland, in which were enumerated the men of the state domains and their services, are most probably of Byzantine origin. His conclusion, though unadventurous, is a safe and reasonable one (p. 653): "*influence arabe, influence byzantine, influence normande, toutes trois se retrouvent dans la cour des comptes normande, mais on ne peut dire quelle est celle qui l'a emportée.*"

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

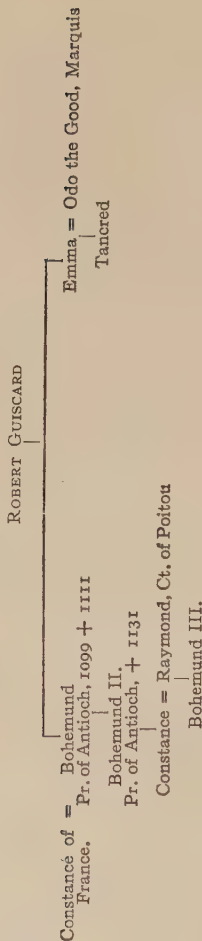
A. THE SONS OF TANCRED OF HAUTEVILLE



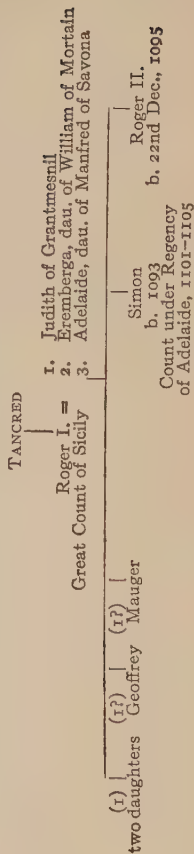
B. THE HAUTEVILLES OF APULIA



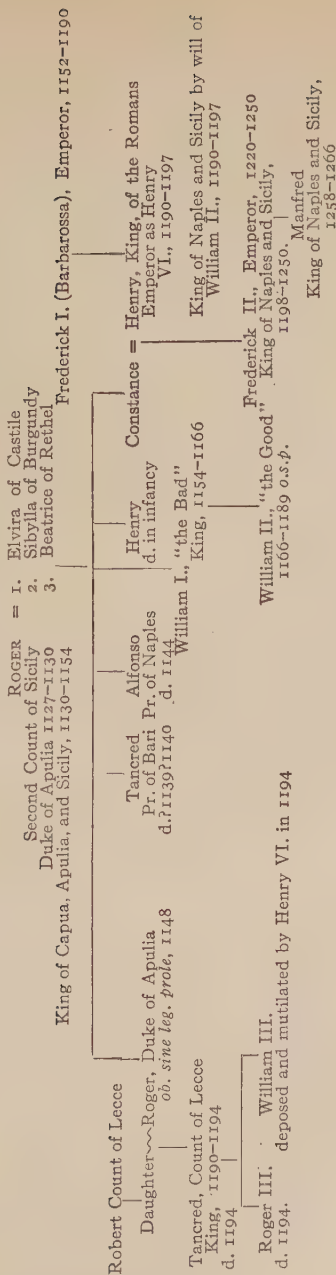
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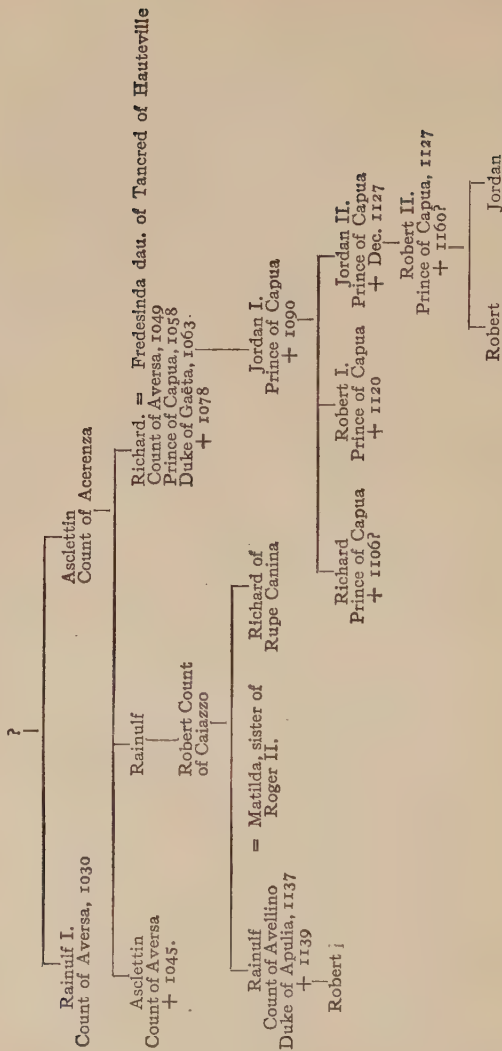
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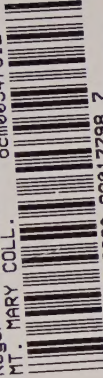
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